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A HISTORY OF ROME

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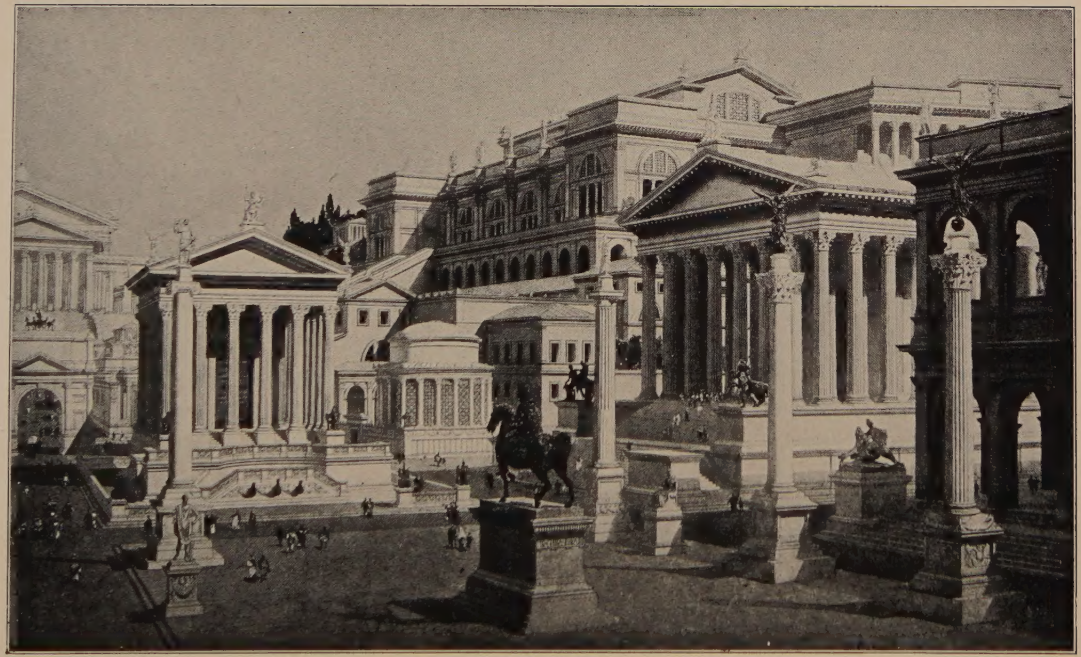

Temple of Venus and Roma

Temple of Julius Cæsar

Temple of Vesta

Palace of the Cæsars

Hall of Vesta

Equestrian Statue of Vespasian

Temple of Castor and Pollux

Basilica Julia

A PART OF THE ROMAN FORUM

(Restored by Becchetti.)

A

HISTORY OF ROME

FOR

HIGH SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES

BY

GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD, PH.D.

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WITH MAPS AND NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

New York

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

THIS volume owes its existence chiefly to encouragement from teachers who are using my "History of Greece," and who desire a history of Rome on a similar plan. If the book meets the expectations of those who are waiting for it, the reason will be that friends have devoted valuable time and experience to its improvement. Mr. Charles Lane Hanson of the Mechanic Arts High School, Boston, to whom the success of the "History of Greece" is largely due, has given me the same efficient aid in the present work. Mr. S. Percy R. Chadwick of Brewster Free Academy has contributed suggestions based on tests made in the class-room. Various improvements have resulted from the reading of the proofs by Professor Egbert of Columbia University. The chapters on the later empire have been revised in the proofs by Professor Burr of Cornell University, to whose scholarship important corrections are due. Miss Emily F. Paine of Miss Spence's School, New York, has helped select the illustrations, and has given me useful notes on Roman art. My wife has worked with me on the maps, the Index, and all other parts of the book. To all these friends I am sincerely grateful. It would be unjust, however, to hold any of them responsible for faults which may still remain in the work. I wish also to thank the President of The Macmillan Co. for his kind interest in the

book, Messrs. Bormay and Co. for their excellent work on the maps, and Messrs. J. S. Cushing and Co. for their patient care in the printing.

In the quotation of ancient authors I have followed, as closely as my plan would admit, the translators recommended in the Bibliography at the close of the volume. The maps and pictures, with the exception of nine from books, to which credit is given in the list of illustrations, have been prepared for this history. Three Etruscan subjects are from photographs in the Fogg Art Museum; the original of the "Ædile" belongs to the Department of Classics of Harvard University. Miss Paine furnished about twenty subjects from her private collection, and the remainder I purchased abroad.

PURPOSE

This book is similar in plan to the "History of Greece." It aims to present briefly the growth of Rome, the expansion and organization of her power, the development and decline of the imperial system, and the transformation of the ancient pagan empire of the Romans into the mediæval Christian empire of the Germans. The narrative, accordingly, extends from the earliest times to Charlemagne.

The treatment of the early constitution rests directly upon the sources, which uniformly represent the plebeians as citizens and the patricians as their leaders. I have avoided mentioning the "concilium tributum plebis," as I see no reason for believing that it ever had more than a theoretical existence. The view of the constitution which this volume presents, and to which scholars are now returning, is as simple and natural as it is well founded.

Emphasis is placed on the period of the emperors as the time during which Rome stamped her character upon the history of the world. Attention is directed not so much to the vices and intrigues of the imperial court as to the progress of mankind both in the capital and in the provinces. Wars are treated with reference to their influence on the current of history, and for the illustration of individual and national character. The admirer of Rome need not glorify conquest or conceal in any degree the failure

of the republic to govern the provinces. Happily the Romans represented something better than city-sacking and oppression. As organizers, administrators, and builders they were greater in peace than in war.

The pupil who wishes to digest thoroughly the contents of this book is advised to use the "Helps" on pages 353–381; while reading a chapter he should work out the "Studies" which belong to it, and analyze the principal subjects in topical outlines like the one given near the end of the volume. In tracing the history of persons or of institutions he will find the Index useful. He ought not to content himself with one book, however, but should read and compare as many authorities as possible. Studied in this way, history trains the whole mind.

CAMBRIDGE, March 1, 1901.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

PAGE

The People and the Country 1

CHAPTER II

The Beginnings of Rome — The Prehistoric Age . . . 17

CHAPTER III

Rome becomes Supreme in Italy. First Period of the Republic — External History 38

CHAPTER IV

The Plebeians win their Rights. First Period of the Republic — Internal History 66

CHAPTER V

The Expansion of the Roman Power. Second Period of the Republic — External History 95

CHAPTER VI

The Growth of Plutocracy. Second Period of the Republic — Internal History 129

CHAPTER VII

The Revolution — (I) From Plutocracy to Militarism . . . 151

CHAPTER VIII

The Revolution — (II) The Military Power in Conflict with the Republic 175

CHAPTER IX

PAGE

The Founding of the Imperial Government. The Dyarchy — The Julian Emperors 204

CHAPTER X

From Dyarchy to Monarchy — The Claudian and Flavian Emperors 225

CHAPTER XI

The Limited Monarchy — The Five Good Emperors . . . 243

CHAPTER XII

The Growth of Absolute Monarchy — From Commodus to Constantine 267

CHAPTER XIII

The Invasions of the Barbarians and the Fall of the Empire in the West 289

CHAPTER XIV

The New German States and the Empire of Charlemagne . . 311

CHAPTER XV

The Private and Social Life of the Romans 335

CHAPTER XVI

Helps to the Study of Roman History 353
Example of a Topical Outline 353
Studies 359
Events in Chronological Order 366
Bibliography 374

INDEX 383

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

COLORED MAPS

		PAGE
Italy before the Punic Wars — For Chapters I–IV	*before*	1
The Vicinity of Rome — For Chapters I–IV	"	41
The Expansion of the Roman Power to the Time of the Gracchi — For Chapters V, VI	*before*	95
The Expansion of the Roman Power from the Gracchi to the Death of Augustus — For Chapters VII–IX	*before*	151
The Roman Empire from Augustus to Diocletian — For Chapters X–XII	*before*	225
The Roman Empire under Diocletian and Constantine — For Chapters XII, XIII	*before*	281
Charlemagne's Empire (From Adams, *European History*) — For Chapter XIV	*before*	311

MAPS IN THE TEXT

The Tribes of Italy and Sicily	5
Early Rome	35
Colonies and Military Roads of Italy	64
Imperial Rome	213
The Sacred Way	234
Europe about 525 A.D. (From Adams, *European History*)	314

FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS

A Part of the Roman Forum (restored)	*Frontispiece*	
The Fall of the Anio	*facing*	3
The Temple of Castor and Pollux	"	42
New Appian Way	"	57
Mounte Ercte	"	101
A Roman Fleet in Harbor (From Rheinhard, *Atlum*)	"	197
Capri	"	221
The Hall of the Emperors	"	309

PAGE

Church of San Apollinare Nuovo . . . . . *facing* 313
A Bridge over the Anio . . . . . " 319
Baiæ . . . . . " 346

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

An Etruscan Tomb 1
Temple of Vesta and of the Sibyl 7
An Etruscan War God 8
An Etruscan Vase 10
A Doric Temple 11
Grotto of the Sibyl 12
A Chimera 17
Cinerary Urns representing Primitive Roman Huts . . . 20
Household Gods 23
Minerva 27
A Vestal Virgin 28
The Wall of Servius 30
Cloaca Maxima 32
Lucius Junius Brutus 38
A Roman Helmet 46
A Proconsul 54
Curule Chair and Fasces (From Schreiber, *Atlas*) . . . 67
Ceres (restored from a Juno — Hera) 75
An *As* (From Hill, *Greek and Roman Coins*) 83
Apollo with a Lyre 85
Æsculapius 87
A Denarius (From Hill, *Greek and Roman Coins*) . . . 90
Venus 91
Messana 95
"Hannibal" 106
"Marcellus" 112
A Scene in Macedonia 117
A Galatian and his Wife 119
Storming a City (From Rheinhard, *Album*) 125
A Street in Pompeii 129
Ædile 139
"Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus" 142
Sacrificing a Pig 145
A Bacchante 149
Italian Oxen 151

PAGE

An Old Shepherdess 156
Youth reading at a Book-case (From Schreiber, *Atlas*) . . 160
An Old Fisherman 165
Roman Soldiers marching (From Rheinhard, *Album*) . . 170
"Sulla" 172
Pompey the Great 176
Cicero 181
Julius Cæsar 190
Cleopatra 198
The Pantheon 204
Augustus 206
The Temple of Mars the Avenger 212
Julia, Daughter of Augustus, and her sons, Gaius and Lucius . 217
Tiberius 219
The Palace of Caligula 222
Claudius 225
Agrippina, Mother of Nero 228
A Triumphal Procession with the Seven Golden Candlesticks . 232
The Colosseum or Flavian Amphitheatre 236
A Body found at Pompeii 237
"Seneca" 241
Nerva 244
The Column of Trajan 246
Plotina, Wife of Trajan 250
The Mausoleum of Hadrian 253
A Roman Bridge 259
Marcus Aurelius in his Triumphal Car 261
Roman Baths 265
The Triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus 267
Septimius Severus 269
Sarcophagus of Alexander Severus and his Mother . . . 273
The Wall of Aurelian 275
A Capital from One of the Temples in Palmyra 277
Temple of the Sun 279
The Basilica of Constantine 284
The Triumphal Arch of Constantine 287
The Roman Forum 289
A German Village (From Adams, *European History*) . . 294
The Baptism of Christ 296
The Good Shepherd 301
The Mausoleum of Galla Placidia 304

PAGE

Palace of Theodoric 311
Cathedral of St. Śophia 317
The Iron Crown of Lombardy 329
Persian Warriors 333
A Roman and his Wife 335
A Fountain 337
House Furniture (From Rheinhard, *Album*) 339
Peristyle of a House in Pompeii 341
A Well-curb 343
A Roman Meal (From Rheinhard, *Album*) 345
A Cinerary Urn 348
The Boy Hercules 350

A HISTORY OF ROME

ITALY
BEFORE THE
PUNIC WARS
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100
For Chs. I-IV.
For Rome see page 35.
For Vicinity of Rome page 41.
8° 10° 12° 14° 16° 18°
48° 46° 44°
Rhine R.
L. Venetus
Aenus R.
ALPS
GALLIA TRANSALPINA
VENETIA
LIGURIA
Taurinus R.
Padus R.
GALLIA CISALPINA
ILLYRIA
ADRIATIC SEA
Gulf of Genoa
Rubicon R.
Ariminum
Metaurus R.
Arnus R.
Sentinum
Aesis R.
Arretium
Clusium
Asculum

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An Etruscan Tomb
(Near Perugia, Italy.)

HISTORY OF ROME

CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLE AND THE COUNTRY

"Others better may mould the life-breathing brass of the image,
And the living features, I ween, draw from the marble, and better
Argue their cause in the court; may mete out the span of the heavens;
Mark out the bounds of the poles, and name all the stars in their turnings.
But thou, O Roman, remember to govern the tribes of thy Empire:
These be thine arts to impose the conditions of peace on the conquered,
Sparing the captives in war, and crushing the haughty in battle."
—Vergil, *Æneid*, vi. 847–853.

The Italians.

Our story begins in the great steppe which extends across southern Russia into Asia north of the Black and

Caspian seas. This country was probably the early home of the Aryans.[1] Here in remote ages we may imagine them roaming about in search of pasture for their flocks, or building huts for a short stay in the more fertile districts. These tribes, or races, moved farther and farther apart, some eastward to Persia and to India, others to various regions of Europe. The particular race whose story we are to follow journeyed to the peninsula now known as Italy. Apparently they came by land from across the Alps. Then moving gradually through the peninsula, the swarms of warriors, with their women and children and their herds, drove before them or subdued the earlier inhabitants, and fought among themselves for the best lands, while alien tribes pressed after them and continually pushed them on. In this way they came to occupy most of central Italy. As they were to be the chief race of the peninsula, we shall call them Italians.

P. 293.

Cf. the settlement of Greece; Botsford, *Greece*, p. 1 ff.

The Sabellians.

In the interior of their narrow country they found the mountains so high and so rugged as to resemble the Alps. The snowy peaks looked down into gorges, in whose depths wild torrents raged. Dark forests covered the steep slopes and most of the table-lands. The principal Italian settlers in this wild, grand region were the Sabellians. They cleared a few spots of ground, which they began to cultivate with rude tools; they roamed the woods for game or watched their flocks in the valleys. Simple in their habits, they bore both labor and poverty with patience; for they saw about them no wealth to excite their envy, and they bent their necks to no lord or hereditary king. Themselves masters of the hills and the forests, at home

[1] Aryan, as here used, is equivalent to Indo-European. For a classification of the principal races of Aryan speech, see Botsford, *History of Greece*, p. 331, n. 1.

THE FALL OF THE ANIO
(Tibur.)

they were free, and in war they willingly followed the chief of their choice. Their constant struggle with the forces of nature, with savage beasts and bold enemies, made them grave, stern, and intensely religious.

Sabellian government.

The Sabellians did not form one state in the modern sense, but each mountain valley or plateau was the abode of a tribe with its own independent government. All the common warriors of the tribe gathered in an assembly to elect their chief, and under his presidency, to vote on important questions, as of war and peace. A few of the old men, who in youth had been most valiant, or to whom age had brought most wisdom, met in a senate, or council of elders, to advise and assist the chief in his duties, and especially to point out to him the will of the gods and the means of securing their favor. These were the earliest political institutions of the Sabellians, and in fact of all the Italians, — the crude elements from which the Roman constitution was to grow.

Cf. the Germans, p. 293 ff.

P. 24 ff.

The Sacred Spring.

As the Sabellians were fond of war, the little communities were constantly fighting with one another. The warriors enjoyed nothing so much as raiding an adjoining tribe, driving off the cattle, and bringing captive young women home as their wives. When, on the other hand, a people became so numerous that the land no longer supported them, or when drouth threatened them with famine, they resorted to a custom known as the Sacred Spring, — that is, they dedicated all the products of a particular spring to some deity, usually Mars, god of war. The cattle and the fruit of the consecrated season they offered in sacrifice to the god; the sons born during that time, on attaining manhood, dismissed by their parents with appropriate ceremonies, wandered away under the protection of the god to whom they were devoted; and

Strabo v. 4. 12.

guided by a sacred bird or beast, — a woodpecker, a wolf, or perhaps a bull, — sought a place suitable for a colony. This they seized, killing, driving out or enslaving the earlier inhabitants. Thus the Sabellians constantly won new territory.

The Sabellians are colonists from Sabina.

The parent stock of this race is said to have been the Sabines, in the mountains near the centre of the peninsula. During one sacred spring they sent forth a host of youths, who occupied the vast mountainous region known as Samnium, a country famous in Italian history. In like manner the Marsians — sons of Mars — setting out from Sabina, settled nearer the mother country. Other emigrants from the same home are said to have followed a woodpecker — *picus* — to the northeast, where they occupied the country between the mountains and the sea and called themselves Picentians after their sacred guide. In time the many colonies of the Sabellians covered the high ranges and the eastern slopes of central Italy. Bold and restless, they threatened to overrun even the west and the extreme south of the peninsula.

V. 49.

The Umbrians.

From the Umbrians, their kinsmen on the north, they had nothing to fear. For these people were somewhat more civilized and consequently more attached to their homes than their southern neighbors. As the Umbrians were weak, too, from lack of union among themselves, they gradually yielded ground to the vigorous, intelligent Etruscans, who pressed upon their northern and western borders. It was rather in Latium, a small country on the western coast, that the Sabellians were to find their mortal foes. This was a flat district about the lower Tiber, extending thence to the southeast, between the mountains and the sea, as far perhaps as Tarracina. Here dwelt the Latins, an Italian tribe related to the Umbrians and the Sabellians. On account of their fertile fields near the coast, they grew

P. 8 f.

The Latins.

more wealthy and more refined than their kinsmen in the interior. As far back as our record goes, the mountaineers were fighting the men of the plain; in time their petty wars were to culminate in a long, fierce struggle between the

Latins and the Samnites for the control of Italy. For centuries the chief interest in Italian history centres in this great contest between the civilized people of the plain and the barbarians in the mountains. Pp 40, 51

The city-state.

Originally all the Italians had the same customs and followed the same modes of life. In the earliest times they built no cities, but grouped their huts in small villages. As there was constant danger from invading enemies, neighboring villages joined in fortifying some convenient hilltop with a wall of earth or of rough stones. To this refuge the villagers fled on the approach of an enemy. Here, too, they met to hold religious festivals and to talk with one another on matters of common interest. As they came in time to have a chief, a senate, and an assembly of their own, they began to pay less heed to the tribe of which they formed a part. Finally when, under favorable conditions, the leading men of the villages had acquired considerable property and had learned from foreigners the advantages of good houses and of settled homes, they took up their abode within the wall on the hilltop. The city which thus grew up within the tribe enjoyed complete independence. We call it the city-state to distinguish it from the earlier tribal state based on the bond of blood and from the territorial state of the present day.

P. 8 ff.

Botsford, *Greece*, pp. 20 f, 297.

Cities of Latium.

While the Sabellians and most of the Umbrians continued to live in villages, cities were growing up in Latium, generally on the spurs of the mountains which bordered the plain. Prominent among them was Alba Longa, on a long ridge, high above the sea level. On one side of the city towered the Alban Mount; on the other was a lake in the crater of an extinct volcano. Mountain and lake helped defend the city from enemies; the slopes and plains below were beautiful to the eye and rich in the produce of all sorts of fruit. In this city thirty Latin communities held an annual festival, in which they sacrificed an ox to Jupiter, their chief deity. In brief, Alba Longa was head of the Latin League. Setting out from Alba to the northeast, we soon come to Præ-

Map, p. 41.

Dionysius i. 66; Strabo v. 3. 13.

neste, one of the strongest places in Latium; "for its citadel was a lofty mountain which overhung the town, and there were secret passages beneath the earth connecting the city with the plain." From Præneste we may follow the mountain range northwestward to Tibur, another well-fortified city in a remarkably beautiful situation. Near by, the Anio falls from a great height into a deep, wooded

Strabo v. 3. 11.

Ib.

TEMPLE OF VESTA AND OF THE SIBYL
(Tibur.)

ravine, above which still stand the ruins of two very ancient temples.

Without noticing the other cities of the hills, let us descend into the plain along the Anio to the Tiber. Here and there the flat country is dotted with hillocks or streaked with ridges. It appears that ages ago volcanoes, then active in the ranges above, scattered all these heaps over the plain. On the left bank of the Tiber, about fourteen miles from its mouth, we come down upon a group of hills which the vol-

Rome.

canoes had helped form with showers of ashes, sand, and stone. As the people on both banks of the lower Tiber needed a place of refuge, they selected one of these hills — the Palatine — and fortified the top with a wall of volcanic stone quarried on the spot. In time the enclosure became a city-state and was named Rome. The district which belonged to this Palatine city lay on both sides of the Tiber between its mouth and the Anio, and included about a hundred square miles. It was as low and flat as any part of Latium. To understand the history of Rome, we must first try to discover what she learned of her neighbors, the Etruscans and the Greeks.

AN ETRUSCAN WAR-GOD

The Etruscans.

North of Latium, between the Tiber and the Tyrrhenian Sea, was Etruria, a country rich in natural resources — quarries of white and green marble, forests of tall, straight trees for building, lakes which watered the fertile lands and teemed with fish. Even the rushes on

the shores, in which flocks of aquatic birds made their nests, could be used as material for the arts. In addition to this country, so favored by nature, the Etruscans possessed a still more fertile territory in the Po valley, which lies north of Etruria. Warlike and aggressive they threatened Latium, possibly they conquered it; at all events they overran and settled Campania, the coast country southeast of Latium, founded colonies in Sardinia and in Corsica, and with their warships controlled the Tyrrhenian sea, which washes the west coast of Italy. For a time they were the most powerful and the most ambitious race in the peninsula.

Their civilization.

Who they were or whence they came we do not know; and though they left abundant inscriptions, no one of the moderns has yet learned to read their language. When we first hear of them they were far in advance of the Italians in all that relates to the security, the comfort, and the refinement of life. They made vases and sculptures; they paved roads, dug canals for drainage and irrigation, and on steep and lofty hills they built massive walls, strong towers, and arched gateways. From city life, based on skilled industry and commerce, arose sharp distinctions between rich and poor, between nobles and commons. From the labor of the poor the lords lived in pomp and luxury, and built splendid palaces and tombs. They based their power on religion, — whose mysterious precepts were hid in the holy books of Tages. Springing forth from a ploughman's furrow, this hideous dwarf had given the Etruscan seers their sacred laws, to whose commands the common people bowed reverently.

Their religion.

"There be thirty chosen prophets,
The wisest of the land,
Who always with Lars Porsena
Both morn and evening stand:

Macaulay, "Horatius," in *Lays of Ancient Rome.*

Evening and morn the Thirty
Have turned the verses o'er,
Traced from the right on linen white
By mighty seers of yore."

Their religious temper owed much to the nature of the country, — a volcanic region disturbed by subterranean rumblings, shaken by superhuman forces, which awed the inhabitants and led them to study those rites which satisfy and calm the mighty demons beneath the earth and in the burning hills. A melancholy people, they probed to its depths the gloom and terror of natural religion; they delighted in human sacrifices, in scenes of agony and of death.

AN ETRUSCAN VASE

Their gift to the Italians.

Though the beginnings and the general character of this civilization were native, the Etruscans admired and imitated the products of Greek skill; and in turn they gave the Italians methods of divination, examples of fortified cities, the trappings and ceremonies of royalty, and forms of architecture for sewers, walls, dwellings, and temples.

It was destined, however, that as teachers of the Italians, the Etruscans should in the end be outrivalled by the more virile Greeks, who about the middle of the eighth century B.C. began to settle the shores of southern Italy and of Sicily. Beneath a sunny sky they found fields of verdure sprinkled with gayly colored flowers — a delightful contrast

The Greeks in Italy.

A Doric Temple
(Metapontum, Southern Italy.)

to the stony soil and naked hills of the mother country. Their thriving colonies soon lined the Italian coast from Dorian Tarentum on the southeast to Chalcidian Cumæ on the west. With them came the gods of Greece, who demanded of their worshippers athletic contests, graceful processions, the song and the dance, beautiful statues and temples. While agriculture, commerce, and skilled industry flourished in "Great Greece," as these collective settlements were called, philosophy and codes of law were the

Magna Græcia. Botsford, *Greece*, pp. 30 ff, 95 f.

best intellectual products. In the arts of peace and war the Greeks were teachers of the natives, and found in the Latins their aptest pupils.

Cumæ.

The centre from which Greek culture extended to Latium was Cumæ, mentioned above, reputed the oldest Greek colony in Italy. It was in a region of volcanoes which

GROTTO OF THE SIBYL
(Cumæ.)

suggested the presence of supernatural powers. In the neighborhood was a cave with a hundred mouths, the abode of the Sibyl, Apollo's prophetess, who wrote her oracles on leaves. Near by was another cave deep and hideous, over which no birds were able to wing their way unhurt because of the vapors issuing from its grim jaws. This men believed

Vergil, *Æneid*, vi. 237.

to be the gate to the realm of Hades. From the city, so rich in local myths, the worship of Apollo and the mysterious art of writing connected with it, made their way to Latium and to Rome. The traveller, standing on the acropolis of Cumæ, now sees about him nothing but vineyards, which hide the ruins of her theatre and her walls; but before she perished the light of her civilization had accompanied Apollo to Rome.

Summary of the races.

The Italians, the Etruscans, and the Greeks were the chief peoples of Italy. Next in importance were the Gauls, who toward the end of the sixth century B.C. began to cross the Alps and to settle in the valley of the Po. Other races of still less importance need not concern us here.[1] From the mingling of these various peoples time was to bring forth a strong, energetic nation.

Italy is long and narrow.

One reason for the political union of so many diverse peoples was that the character and situation of the country exposed it to attack on all sides. Largely a peninsula, Italy is extremely long in proportion to its breadth; and near it in every direction are foreign lands, from which enemies can easily come. The Alps, those icy giants marshalled for the protection of the northern border, have often failed in their duty, and the surrounding seas have been the highway of the invader. Feeling the weakness of her position, Italy overcame it by union under Rome, her strongest city. The same geographical conditions explain another fact: even when united, the country was unsafe while the neighboring nations remained free to assail it; and thus it was that motives of self-preservation forced Rome, as the head of the peninsula, into her career of foreign conquest.

Political results.

P. 97.

[1] There were the Iapygians in the heel of the peninsula, the Venetians, their kinsmen, at the head of the Adriatic Sea, and the Ligurians in the west of Italy opposite Venetia.

Italy faces the west.

Looking at a map of the country, we see that mountain ranges — the Apennines — extending through the whole length of the peninsula, lie for the most part near the eastern shore. This makes the eastern slopes abrupt, the rivers short, the coast rarely broken by harbors. On the west the slopes are more gentle, terminating in broad, fertile plains traversed by navigable rivers and well supplied with bays. In brief, the country is closed to the East and open to the West. Turning her back upon the East with its luxury, its vice, and its decaying life, Italy faced the fresh vital nations of the West, and found her chief interest in giving them her institutions. It was from contact with the civilizing influence of Rome that the vigorous races of central and western Europe developed into modern nations. There is reason, then, for looking upon the Romans as the last of the ancients and the first of the moderns.

Great variety of climate and soil.

In addition to these far-reaching political effects, the Apennines have always promoted the well-being and happiness of Italian life; for in every section of the peninsula the people enjoy the products, the climate, and the scenery of the mountains as well as of the plains on the seaside. It is "a land of continual contrasts: plains and mountains, snow and scorching heat, dry gorges and raging torrents, limpid lakes formed in ancient craters, and pestilential marshes concealing beneath the herbage once populous cities. At every step a contrast: the vegetation of Africa at the foot of the Apennines; on their summits the vegetation of the North. Here, under the clear sky, the malaria, bringing death in one night to the sleeping traveller; there, lands of inexhaustible fertility, and above, the volcano with its threatening lava. . . . every climate, every property of the soil combined, — in short, a reduced picture of the ancient world."

Duruy, *Rome*, i. p. 37.

"In my opinion," says an ancient Greek writer on Roman history, "Italy surpasses even such fruitful countries as Egypt and Babylonia; for I look upon that country as the best which stands least in need of foreign commodities. Now I am persuaded that Italy enjoys this universal fertility beyond all other countries of the world. For it contains a great deal of good arable land, without wanting pastures and forests, and abounds, I may say, in delights and advantages. Unparalleled are the plains of Campania, which yield three crops a year, bringing to perfection the winter, summer, and autumnal grain; peerless are the olive grounds of the Messapians and the Sabines; peerless the vineyards of Etruria and Alba, where the soil is wonderfully kind to vines. Then there are pastures for sheep, goats, horses, and neat cattle; there are the marsh grasses, wet with dew, and the meadow grasses of the hills, all growing in untilled places. I cannot help admiring the forests full of all kinds of trees, which supply timber for ships and houses. All these materials are ready at hand, for the coast is near, and there are many rivers which water the land and make easy the exchange of everything the country produces. Hot water springs, also, have been discovered in many places, affording pleasant baths and cures for chronic sickness. There are mines of various sorts, plenty of beasts for hunting, and a variety of sea-fish, besides other things innumerable, some useful and others worthy of admiration. But the most advantageous of all is the happy temper of the air, suiting itself to every season. So that neither the formation of fruits nor the constitution of animals is in the least injured by excessive cold or heat. No wonder, then, that the ancients, seeing this country abounding with universal plenty, dedicated the mountains and woods to Pan; the meadows and green lawns to the nymphs; the shores and

The best country in the ancient world.

Dionysius i. 36–38 (abridged).

islands to the sea-gods; and every delightful place to its appropriate deity!"

Sources

Reading.

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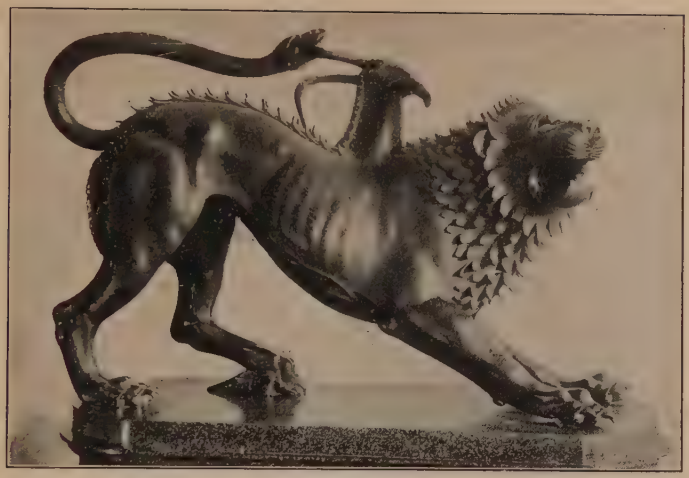


A Chimera

(Etruscan Archæological Museum, Florence.)

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF ROME—THE PREHISTORIC AGE (TO 509 B.C.)

Myth of the wanderings of Æneas.

When the Greeks had taken Troy by means of the wooden horse and were slaying the inhabitants, Æneas, son of Anchises and of Venus, goddess of love, escaped by sea together with many followers. And though the angry Júno threatened him with storms and beset his path with trials and dangers, his goddess mother guided him safely through every peril and brought him after many wanderings to a haven on the west coast of fair Italy. There he landed and began to build a city. He allied himself with Latinus, king of the country, married Lavinia, the king's daughter, and named the new city Lavinium, after his bride.

Vergil, *Æneid;* Livy i. 1 f; Dionysius i. 46–64; Plutarch, *Romulus.*

Trojans and natives lived together in peace, all taking the

Myth of Romulus and Remus.

name of Latins after their king, who was slain somewhat later and was succeeded by Æneas. The next king was Ascanius, son of Æneas, who founded Alba Longa. Many generations afterward Amulius wickedly expelled his brother Numitor from the kingship and himself usurped the throne. He had Numitor's son assassinated and compelled Rhea, the daughter, to become a Vestal virgin that she might not marry and bring forth an avenger of the family's wrongs. However, she bore to Mars, god of war, twin sons of more than human size and beauty. Set adrift on the Tiber by order of the king, they were cast ashore near Mount Palatine, and would have perished had not a she-wolf nursed them till they were taken up and cared for by a shepherd of that region. When they had grown to manhood, they killed Amulius, and restored Numitor, their grandfather, to the throne.

Livy i. 3–8; Dionysius i. 70–84.

P. 29.

P. 8.

Myth of the founding of Rome, 753 B.C. (?).

With the king's consent the twin brothers led a colony to the place where they had passed their youth; but they quarrelled as to who should be the founder. When they scanned the sky for an omen of the divine will, six vultures, birds of Jupiter, appeared to Remus, but twelve were seen by Romulus, who thereupon founded the city on Mount Palatine. This he did by tracing a quadrangular space about the hill with a plough drawn by a yoke of cattle. Remus, however, in derision, leaped the half-finished wall, exclaiming, "Methinks any of your enemies might leap this as easily as I do." Then Romulus, or one of his men, replying, "But any of us might easily chastise that enemy," struck and killed him with a pickaxe.

Livy i. 6–8.

Criticism of the myth.

Among the many stories of the founding of Rome, this is the one which came to be generally believed. The Romans wanted to connect their history with that of the country from which they had derived their culture; and

the active imagination of the Greeks readily supplied the need by the myth as told above. In fact no one knows by whom or under what circumstances Rome was founded. It was not, however, a colony of Alba Longa, but merely one of several Latin towns. The traditional date of founding, 753 B.C., is also a fiction. P. 6.

Myth of the Sabine women.

When Romulus had founded Rome, as the myth asserts, he became the first king of the city, and gave his people laws and a constitution. In the original settlement few women had taken part; the men therefore were anxious to secure wives from the surrounding communities. Romulus accordingly exhibited games, to which many neighbors, including the Sabines, came by invitation. Now while they were watching the games, at a given signal the Romans rushed upon the Sabines and seizing their daughters carried them off as wives, each bringing one to his own home. To avenge this wrong, Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines, marched with his army against Rome, and joined battle with Romulus in the valley below the Palatine afterward occupied by the Forum, or market-place. During a pause in the fray the captive daughters of the Sabines, rushing between their fathers and their husbands, entreated them to cease from war and be forever friends. Their prayers prevailed; and though the Sabines dwelt henceforth on the Quirinal Hill, north of the Palatine, they came under one government with the Romans, and were ruled conjointly by Romulus and Tatius. This dual reign lasted till the death of the Sabine restored the whole power to the original Roman king.

Livy i. 9; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 14 ff.

Criticism of the myth.

The first part of this myth is an attempt to explain the origin of marriage by capture, a custom older than Rome and prevalent in many countries besides Italy; the second part refers to an historical event, — the union of the Latin

community on the Palatine with a later, possibly Sabine, community on the Quirinal. This union greatly increased the area and population of the city. While Rome was growing on the hills, she was extending her territory in the plains at her feet. In myth, Tullus Hostilius, the third king, conquered and destroyed Alba Longa, annexed her territory, and removed the people to Rome, where he settled them on the Cælian Hill. Following the example of

Myth of Tullus Hostilius and of Ancus Martius.

CINERARY URNS REPRESENTING PRIMITIVE ROMAN HUTS
(Vatican Museum ; found in the ancient cemetery at Alba Longa.)

Romulus he admitted the Alban commons to citizenship and enrolled the leading men among the nobles. Ancus Martius, the fourth king, still further enlarged the Roman domain, founded Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, to be a seaport to his city, and fortified Mount Janiculum, across the Tiber, as an outpost against the Etruscans. Though all the kings are probably mythical, the stories, however misleading in detail, indicate in a general way

Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 17 f; Livy i. 22–35.

Criticism of the myths.

the manner in which Rome grew and the character of her institutions.

Early life on the Palatine.

The earliest dwellers on the Palatine lived in rude wooden houses covered with straw, each containing a single room. They used flint, bone, and bronze tools and weapons, and ate from coarse earthenware dishes. The wealthier families built more substantial dwellings and imported finer ware from Etruria. Adjoining each hut were a garden and a sheepfold, to which in the evening the shepherd drove his little flock through the Gate of Bellowing — Porta Mugonia — from the pasture-lands outside the city; in the evening the peasants whose farms were near returned home from their labors in the fields below, for no one wished to pass the night in the unhealthful plains; and maidens brought on their heads jars of fresh water from the springs in the valley below the Porta Romanula. With the human inmates of the house abode the spirits of the hearth and pantry, and in the temples men worshipped gods who had no images. Such was the simple life of early Rome.

Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 110 ff.

Growth of the city.

Gradually the population outgrew the space within the Palatine walls, and several suburbs sprang up in the vicinity. Then the king took possession of the Capitoline Mount and established his citadel on its northern summit. A reason for the growth of the city may be found in the fact that the Romans welcomed strangers and freely bestowed the citizenship, as it increased their military strength in the wars they were constantly waging with their neighbors. Their force was perhaps nearly doubled by their union with the community on the Quirinal referred to in the myth above. We shall now see how the people lived in the city thus enlarged.

Livy i. 9–14.

As Rome was well situated for small trade with the Etruscans and other neighbors, some of the citizens engaged in

The occupations and the character of the Romans.

making wares and in buying and selling. From early times there were, accordingly, guilds of coppersmiths, goldsmiths, dyers, curriers, and others, each with its patron god and place of assembly. Myth ascribes the founding of these societies to Numa, successor of Romulus. Most of the Romans, however, were peasants. The farmer, clad simply in a woollen tunic, or shirt, which reached the knee, followed his bronze-shod plough drawn by a yoke of cattle. His narrow mind held only sober, practical ideas; for he saw nothing of the world beyond the mountains bordering the plain of the Tiber, — mountains which inspired him with no love of the beautiful and the grand, but rather with a feeling of hatred for the enemies who were wont to sweep down from them upon his little field. His laborious life, his warfare against famine, pestilence, and neighbors who were always harassing made him stern and harsh, and even in his dealing with the gods, calculating and illiberal. Though love, pity, and benevolence found little place in his heart, he was strong in the more heroic virtues, — he was dignified, brave, and energetic; he reverenced the gods and the forefathers, and obeyed the laws; above all, he was a man of his word. With these great qualities, his highest aspiration was to be a good ploughman; the chaste Lucretia spinning wool till late at night was his ideal woman.

Plutarch, *Numa*, 17.

P. 40 f.

Livy i. 58.

The family.

The simplicity and severity of Roman character found expression in the family. Marriage was a religious act which made the home sacred, the house a holy place. Within lived Vesta, whose altar was the hearth; within were the spirits of the ancestors, who, in the form of Lares, guarded the house from every harm; within, too, were the Penates, who blessed the family store. Of these home deities Horace wrote: —

P. 335.

Dionysius ii. 24–27.

HOUSEHOLD GODS
(In a house at Pompeii.)

"Thy little gods for humbler tribute call
Than blood of many victims; twine for them
Of rosemary a simple coronal,
And the lush myrtle's frail and fragrant stem.

The costliest sacrifice that wealth can make
From the incensed Penates less commands
A soft response, than doth the poorest cake,
If on the altar laid with spotless hands."

Horace, *Odes*, iii. 23.

The father was priest of these gods, owner of the estate, and master of his wife and children through life. He could load his son with chains, sell him into slavery, or put him to death. Even if the son were a senator or magistrate, the father could drag him home and punish him for misconduct. Although before inflicting the death penalty the law compelled him to consult the kinsmen, he was not bound by their advice. Women were always under guardianship, the

P. 338.

maiden of her father, the matron of her husband. Nevertheless they were respected: the wife was a priestess at the hearth; and in case the father left no will, the mother and the daughter shared equally with the sons in the inheritance. In this strict, moral school, young men were disciplined for public life.

The curia.

Several families united in a *curia*, or brotherhood. On certain festal days the men of a brotherhood ate together in a common dining hall containing a sacred hearth, on which they kept fire burning perpetually in honor of Juno. When war broke out the members of a curia followed their leaders to the front, and stood side by side on the field of battle. Kinship and religion inspired them to deeds of daring; "the soldier felt ashamed to forsake the comrades with whom he had lived in communion of libations, sacrifices, and holy rites." Ten curiæ united in a tribe and three tribes composed the state. Whatever else the tribes might have been, we know at least that they were military divisions. It seems probable that in early Rome the commons of each tribe formed a regiment of foot, and the nobles a troop of horse.

Dionysius ii. 7.

Dionysius ii. 23.

The tribes — Ramnes, Tities, Luceres.

P. 33.

Social ranks.

The commons were called plebeians — "the multitude" — and the nobles, patricians. Those families were patrician whose fathers were qualified by birth to be senators, magistrates, and priests. In early Rome the barrier between the two ranks was not impassable; with the consent of the assembly the king could ennoble any plebeian whom he considered sufficiently marked by wealth or personal merit. As the patricians alone were acquainted with the laws, which were unwritten, the plebeian, to secure protection for himself and his family before the courts of law, chose a noble as his patron, whom he bound himself to serve as a client. Thus many of the plebeians became

Livy i. 8; Dionysius ii. 8–10.

P. 76.

Dionysius ii. 9–11.

clients of the patricians. The duty of the patron was to give his clients legal advice in their business, to sue for them when injured, and to defend them when sued. The clients, on the other hand, followed their patron to war and supported him in public life, labored in his fields or made him presents, that he might fill his offices with becoming dignity. It was impious for patron and client to accuse each other in courts of justice or to testify or vote against each other. And whoever was convicted of offending against these ordinances was guilty of treason, and might lawfully be put to death by any one as a victim devoted to the infernal Jupiter. Though the original object of clientage was doubtless good, we shall see how, after the overthrow of the kingship, it became intolerably oppressive. P. 72 f.

The comitia curiata.

When the king wished to consult his people on questions of public interest, his criers went about the city with ox-horns, calling them to the *comitium*, or place of assembly. Here the curiæ met, each in a group by itself, and listened to the proposition of the king with the reasons he might urge in its favor. Then, without debate, each curia determined whether it would sustain or oppose the king's wish; and a majority of the curiæ decided the matter. This assembly was called the *comitia curiata*. The king consulted it when he wished to begin an aggressive war, to conclude a treaty, to change an existing custom, or to undertake any other important business. Dionysius ii. 14.

The senate.

To be binding, such a decision of the assembly had to receive the sanction of the senate, — the *patrum auctoritas*. As all, without distinction of rank, had a voice in the comitia, a great majority of that body were necessarily plebeians. It was chiefly through the senate, therefore, that the nobles exercised their political influence. This body, at first very small, gradually grew with the development of the nobility, Dionysius ii. 12.

till at the close of the regal period it is said to have contained a hundred and thirty-six members. The king was accustomed to ask the advice of the senate on all important matters; and though he was not legally bound by this advice, — *senatus consultum*, — he generally followed it through respect for the nobles and through desire for their support and coöperation.

Plutarch, *Poplicola*, 11.

The interrex.

On the death of a king the senate took entire charge of the government; the senators ruled by turns, each for a period of five days, in the order determined by lot. The ruler for the time being was termed *interrex*, and the period between the death of a king and the election of his successor was an *interregnum*. Although the first interrex was not at liberty to nominate a king, probably through respect for the dead, the second could do so, or any interrex thereafter. When the temporary ruler had found a suitable candidate for the office of king, he summoned the comitia and called for a vote of the people. In case of an election approved by the senate, a resolution of the assembly conferred upon the new king the *imperium*, which made him absolute commander in war and supreme judge with power of life and death over his subjects. In addition to these duties, he was head of the state religion. Ample provision was made for his support. "Fields, woods, pastures, extensive and fertile, were allotted to the king and cultivated without labor on his part, that anxiety about his private affairs might not distract his attention from the duties he owed the people." Thus the king, though originally but a citizen, was elevated to a place of great dignity and power. Accordingly he dressed in an embroidered purple robe and high red shoes, and with an eagle-headed sceptre in his hand, sat on an ivory throne, or on his judgment seat, the curule chair. In his walks he was accompanied by twelve attendants, called

Livy i. 17.

The election of a king.

Cicero, *Republic*, v. 2.

P. 67.

lictors, each bearing an axe bound in a bundle of rods. The axes signified his absolute power extending to life and death; perhaps the rods represented the mercy which tempered his authority.

Although the king was the only real magistrate, he called others to assist him in managing the public property, in detecting crimes, and in administering justice. He also filled all priestly offices and colleges with persons agreeable to himself.

The king's assistants.

MINERVA
(Etruscan.)

Religion — the myth of Numa.

Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 13-16; Livy i. 17-21; Plutarch, *Numa*.

As the Romans of a later age assigned the beginnings of their state and constitution to Romulus, their first mythical king, they made Numa Pompilius, who was second in the list, author of most of their religious institutions. Myth represents Numa as the opposite of Romulus, — as a man of peace, learned in human and divine law, who made it the aim of his rule "to bring the hard and iron temper of the Romans to gentleness and equity." Refraining from war throughout his reign, he occupied his time in giving religious

laws and institutions to his people. These improvements he received from his goddess wife Egeria, with whom he conversed in a "grove in the middle of which was a spring of living water, issuing from a dark grotto." Near the comitium he built a temple to Janus, the double-faced god, who blesses the beginnings and ends of actions. The gates of his temple were open in war and closed in peace. During the reign of Numa they were shut, but rarely thereafter in the long history of Rome. Besides Janus there are father Jove, or Jupiter, the chief guardian of Rome; Saturn, who blesses seed-sowing; "Minerva, who warns the husbandmen in time of the works to be undertaken;" Mars, god of war, "whom din delights and gleam of burnished helm," to whom the woodpecker and the wolf are sacred; Juno, wife of Jupiter; Vulcan, who "strikes the sparks from the forges of the Cyclops with reiterated beat;" Venus, a garden goddess, afterward identified with the Greek queen of love; and a host of other deities. Every object and every act in nature and in human life had a guardian spirit, the most important of which the Romans worshipped as gods.

Livy i. 21.

Duruy, *Rome*, i. p. 199; Horace, *Odes*, i. 2, 4.

A Vestal Virgin
(National Museum, Naples.)

Services of the chief deities were held by priests — *flamines*, plural of *flamen* — whose lives were made uncomfortable by strict rules governing every detail of their conduct. In the service of the gods they performed intricate rites and chanted dry rituals. It is easy to see how this religion must have narrowed the mind and fettered the imagination.

Sacred colleges.

Certain religious duties were the care of groups, or colleges, of sacred persons. Such were the six Vestal virgins, who attended to the worship of Vesta and kept the sacred fire of the state in her temple. Twelve leapers — *Salii* — of Mars, in purple frocks girt with a broad, bronze-studded belt, carried through the streets the sacred shields, upon which they clashed their short swords, while they leaped and sang to their god. Augurs took the auspices for the king, by reading the will of Jupiter in the lightning and in the flight of birds; and the pontiffs, who had charge of all divine knowledge, instructed the citizens in worship.

Plutarch, *Numa*, 9 ff.

A new age.

We have now reviewed the earliest age in Roman history, — represented in myth by the first four kings, — during which the city was small and unimportant. But a new era already dawning was to bring to Rome good public buildings, massive fortifications, and the headship of Latium. To this second era of the kingly period the myth of the Tarquins and of Servius Tullius refers.

Myth of Tarquin the Elder.

While Ancus Martius was king, Lucumo, a Greek by descent but a resident of Tarquinii, a city of Etruria, came with Tanaquil, his wife, to Rome. When they had reached the Janiculum, "an eagle sweeping down to him as he sat in his chariot, took off his cap, and with loud screams, as if she had been sent from heaven for the very purpose, replaced it carefully on his head." Thereupon Tanaquil, who was skilled in omens, bade her husband hope for a high and noble fortune. They proceeded to the city, where Lucumo,

Livy i. 34.

taking the name of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, — "the Elder," — by his affable and courteous manners won the favor and confidence of all. The people, therefore, elected him king after Ancus. He gained famous victories over the Sabines and the Latins; and made a beginning of the great public works which his successors carried to completion.

The Wall of Servius

Myth of Servius Tullius.

Of the king who came after him the following story is told.

A strange thing once happened in the house of Tarquin the Elder. Several of his household, as they watched Servius Tullius, a slave boy, sleeping, saw his head blaze with fire. Whereupon a servant brought water to put out the flame. But the queen, preventing him, remarked to her husband, "Do you see this boy whom we are rearing in so mean a style? Be assured that hereafter he will be a

Livy i. 39.

light to us in our adversity, and a protector to our palace in distress." From that time they treated him as their own son; and when he became a man, they gave him their daughter in marriage. Tarquin was afterward assassinated by shepherds set upon him by the sons of Ancus Martius, and Servius Tullius succeeded to the throne.

Myth tells us further that Servius built a great wall around Rome, reorganized the army, and made his city leader of Latium. Such were his magnificent deeds. But the plots of his wicked daughter, Tullia, embittered his old age; and at last he was openly murdered by her husband, Tarquin the Elder's son, who, succeeding to the throne, gained the hateful title of the "Proud." The younger Tarquin completed the public works his father had begun. On these buildings he compelled the citizens to labor unrewarded till they cursed the tyrant. Another myth connects him with the state religion. The Sibyl of Cumæ came to him one day with nine books of prophecies of Apollo concerning the future of Rome. She wished him to buy them, but he objected to the price. After she had burned six of them, however, curiosity and religious fear led him to pay the original price for the remaining three. He placed them in the charge of a college of two men of rank, who kept them in a vault beneath the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, and consulted them whenever the state was in especial danger or distress.

Livy i. 46 ff.

Tarquinius Superbus — the "Proud."

Though the last royal dynasty of Rome was undoubtedly named Tarquin, we do not know how many kings the family furnished or whether they were Etruscan or native. Yet we may at least find in their story a reflection of the great influence which, in this age, the Etruscan civilization gained over Rome. Let us leave the mythical narrative for the present, while we try to appreciate the actual achievements of this family.

Criticism of the myths.

The public works of the Tarquins.

Originally the valleys among the hills of Rome were marshy and often overflowed. The Tarquins drained these low grounds by means of arched sewers, some of which were so large that a loaded hay-cart could pass through them. The most famous of these works was the Cloaca Maxima, — "the greatest sewer," — which drained the Forum and made the ground about it habitable. The public life of the community henceforth centred in this valley.

Cloaca Maxima

The smiths and the shopkeepers set up their stalls around the Forum. About it the kings built temples; and adjoining it on the northeast side they made an assembly-place — the comitium — in which they built a senate-house. Above the Forum, on the Capitoline, they erected a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, — usually known as the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter. Though in the heavy Etruscan style, it was for centuries the most magnificent building in

Rome. They provided, too, for the amusement of the people. The valley between the Palatine and the Aventine was a convenient place for races and other games. On the sloping hillsides which bounded it one of the Tarquins erected wooden seats for the spectators, naming this building and enclosure the Circus Maximus.

The "Wall of Servius."

As the population had so increased that the old defences of the Palatine and the Capitoline no longer sufficed, they included in the city, in addition to these two heights, the Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, Cælian, and Aventine Hills, — making seven in all, — and surrounded the whole space with a huge wall, parts of which remain to this day. Though myth makes Servius the builder, a study of the ruins seems to show that successive kings had a share in the work. Rome was no longer a group of villages, but a great fortified city.

Livy i. 44.

The primitive Roman army.

Still more important for the future strength of Rome was the new army which Servius is said to have called into being. Hitherto the tribes and curiæ had furnished their regiments and companies for war. Each group was a mere crowd of men poorly armed and without discipline or tactics. It was the same crude military system which we find among the early Greeks and Germans. The Spartans, however, perhaps as early as the eighth century B.C., invented the phalanx, — a line of warriors with strong defensive armor and long spears, — which moved as a unit to the sound of music. The new system commended itself to all intelligent Greeks, and soon found its way to their colonies in Italy and in Sicily. Thence one of the Tarquins, whom we shall call Servius, adopted it for his own state.

P. 24.

P. 295.

Botsford, *Greece*, pp. 28, 57.

As each soldier had to arm and equip himself at his own expense, Servius found it necessary to take a census of the citizens in order to know who should buy heavier, and who

The local tribes and the census.

lighter, armor. It was chiefly for this purpose that he divided the city into four districts, called tribes, and probably the country into sixteen tribes. Each tribe had officers and a list of members, including all the citizens who owned land within the district. Taking the census on the basis of this local organization, Servius divided the tribesmen into five classes according to the size of their freeholds.

Livy i. 43.

The "Army of Servius."

He required the members of the first or wealthiest class to equip themselves with the heaviest and most efficient arms, those of the second class to buy somewhat less complete equipments, and so on to the lowest. The three wealthier classes were heavy-armed and stood in lines, one behind another, while the fourth and fifth classes, as light-armed troops, served wherever occasion demanded. In the front line were forty centuries of a hundred men each; and in the second and third lines were ten centuries each. Of the light-armed troops there were ten centuries in the fourth class, and fourteen in the fifth. Thus the phalanx contained eighty-four hundred footmen: from early times it appears to have been composed of two divisions, termed legions, of forty-two hundred foot soldiers each. This organization included mainly plebeians; the patricians continued to serve in the cavalry, of which there were six centuries, three to each legion. The army, thus organized for the field, contained the men of military age — from seventeen to forty-six years. The older men remained in the city for the defence of the walls.

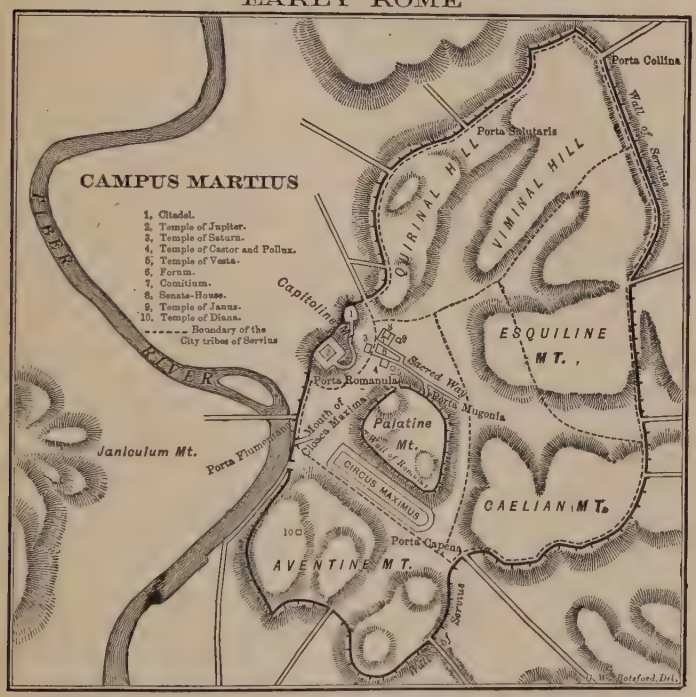
P. 24.

Increase in territory.

At the time of this new arrangement the territory of Rome had increased four or five fold, — chiefly at the expense of the Etruscans, the Sabines, and the Latins. When Rome subdued a neighboring city she razed the walls and everything they enclosed, excepting the temples, and seized a third or perhaps a half of the conquered land. She com-

pelled many of the dispossessed people to settle on her own hills, and admitting all to the citizenship, bestowed the patriciate upon the nobles. With the growth of her territory, therefore, came a corresponding increase in her population and her military strength. After the reform of

EARLY ROME



Servius, Rome could put into the field a well-organized and well-disciplined army of about nine thousand men, foot and horse, — the strongest force in Latium.

Causes of the greatness of Rome.

In the character and surroundings of the Romans we discover several causes of their future greatness. By persistent labor on their little farms the peasants acquired the

patience and the strength of will which were to make them the best soldiers in the world. As sober, practical men, with none of the imagination or the ideals of the Greeks, they developed a rare talent for law, organization, and self-government. The Seven Hills gave a unique opportunity for settlements so close together that they found it necessary to combine in one state. This union increased the strength of Rome, and introduced a precedent for the free admission of strangers to citizenship. The unhealthfulness of the neighboring plain, by forcing men to build their homes on the Hills, encouraged city life and intelligent enterprise. Then, too, the advantage of the situation for small trade and manufacturing made the City of the Seven Hills the chief market of the Latins. Commercial intercourse with the Greeks led Servius to adopt their superior military system, which in turn made Rome the political head of Latium — the beginning of a great career.

Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 3–6.

Rome head of Latium.

We are not to regard her supremacy as forced upon the dependent country and exercised wholly for her own benefit. Rather, Latium was threatened on all sides by enemies: in the mountains, the barbarous Sabellians, ever restless, ready to pour like torrents into the plain below; in Campania, the Etruscans with their aggressive civilization; and in alliance with the latter, the Carthaginians, whose galleys swooped down upon the unprotected coast, to carry off both cattle and persons. In need of protection, the allied Latin towns looked to Rome as the strongest community among them, and concluded with her a perpetual peace, which made the city on the Tiber their head and defender. For a religious centre of the union, the Latins and the Romans built a temple to Diana on the Aventine.

Livy i. 45.

It was under the Tarquins that Rome made for herself this honorable place in Latium. But the end of their reign

was drawing near. Myth represents the last Tarquin as a haughty tyrant who broke the laws of the forefathers, slew senators, and so oppressed the people by hard labor that they were ready for rebellion. Matters came to a crisis when Sextus, the brutal son of the king, did violence to the honor of Lucretia, a model of virtue among Roman matrons. Collatinus Tarquinius, husband of Lucretia, and Lucius Junius Brutus, both kinsmen of the king, led the revolt of nobles and commons against the tyrant. He was banished, and Brutus persuaded the people to swear that they would nevermore suffer a king to rule at Rome. In place of a single lifelong sovereign, the people thereafter elected annually two consuls as chief magistrates with equal power.

The end of the monarchy.

Livy i. 60; ii. 2; cf. Shakspere, *Julius Cæsar*, Act I. Scene ii.

Sources

Reading.

Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 1–30; Livy i; Dionysius i–iv; Plutarch, *Romulus; Numa;* Eutropius i. 1–9. Cf. Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. ii.

These sources are made up of (1) *stories* invented for the most part long after the time to which they refer, and therefore of little historical value; and interwoven with the stories, (2) *descriptions of institutions* also composed many years after the regal period. The descriptions are of far greater value than the stories, however, for the institutions of Rome changed so little from age to age that a writer could with considerable accuracy infer their past history from their present condition.

Modern Works

Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. I (the most scholarly short history); How and Leigh, *History of Rome*, chs. iii, iv; Shuckburgh, *History of Rome*, chs. iv, v; **Ihne,** *Early Rome*, chs. i–ix; *History of Rome*, bk. I (entire); Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. I. chs. v, vi, x–xv; Duruy, *History of Rome*, I. chs. i–v; Taylor, *Constitutional and Political History of Rome*, ch. i; Fowler, *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, chs. i–iii. Most of these writers assume that originally the patricians were the only citizens of Rome, and that the plebeians were either alien residents or conquered subjects. No one, however, has offered any evidence for this strange theory. For the correct view, see Pelham, p. 24; Meyer, E., *Geschichte des Altertums*, ii. p. 520 ff; Botsford, *Composition of the Roman Assemblies.*

LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS
MYTHICAL FOUNDER OF THE REPUBLIC
(Palace of the Conservatori, Rome.)

CHAPTER III

ROME BECOMES SUPREME IN ITALY
(509–264 B.C.)

FIRST PERIOD OF THE REPUBLIC — EXTERNAL HISTORY

The mythical battle of Lake Regillus, 496 B.C.

Livy ii. 19 f.

P. 68.

P. 26 f.

NEWS came to Rome that bands of horse and foot from all the towns of the Latin League were gathering at Tusculum to restore the aged Tarquin to the throne. In the face of this great danger the consuls gave way to a dictator, whom twenty-four lictors attended with axes, and who ruled the state by martial law. Holding this absolute command, Postumius led forth the phalanx, and Æbutius, his master

of horse, rode on the left among the agile knights, who were armed with bull-hide shields and long, frail lances. The armies met at Lake Regillus, near Tusculum. First Tarquin the Proud, though feeble with age, spurred his horse to a furious attack upon the Roman commander, but his clients soon carried him wounded to the rear. On the left, Æbutius charged Mamilius of Tusculum, chief general of the Latin League; the shock of the two heroes was terrific and the lances of both drew blood. Meantime the knights were engaging each his foe. A battalion of Roman exiles, too, fought furiously under Tarquin's son, who rode far in their front. The Roman knight Valerius chased him back into his band, but thrust through the body, the pursuer fell from his horse and his arms clanged loud. Then Herminius, knowing Mamilius by his glittering arms and splendid dress, darted a thrust through his body; but while despoiling the corpse, the victor was wounded, and his men brought him to the camp to die. Such were the combats of the knights before the Servian phalanx had learned to bear its part in war. The Romans won the fight, thanks to the twin gods, Castor and Pollux, who took part with them. That evening in the Forum a certain Roman "saw two men, tall and fair, washing their sweating steeds at a fountain [near the temple of Vesta]. He marvelled much at their tale of victory; then they smiled serenely, and stroked his beard, which instantly changed from black to white." On the spot where the twin gods thus appeared, the Romans built for them a beautiful temple.

P. 24 f.

Pp. 6, 36.

Plutarch, *Æmilius*, 25.

A treaty which the consuls had made with Carthage in the first year of the republic, 509 B.C., implies that Rome was supreme in Latium. The Latins, however, had revolted to Tarquin, and the ancient historian introduces this mythical Roman victory to explain why they were so soon ready

Foreign relations.

Polybius iii. 22 f.

P. 74. Dionysius vi. 95.

for friendship. In 493 B.C., Spurius Cassius, the leading statesman of the early republic, negotiated with them a perpetual peace; the Latin League and the city of Rome were to furnish yearly commanders alternately, and were to share equally the spoils and the conquered lands. A few years later the same statesman extended these terms of union to the Hernicans, who, though dwelling in a mountain valley above Latium, may be classed with the Romans and the Latins as civilized lowlanders in contrast with the Sabines, the Æquians, and the Volscians — rude mountaineers. Every year the dwellers in the plain had to fight for the protection of their property and their lives against the hungry tribes of the hills. This war in defence of civilization now became the burden of the allies. It was well for the new league that the Etruscans, who were still more formidable enemies, soon found trouble elsewhere: hordes of barbarous Gauls had crossed the Alps and were driving them from the Po valley; off Cumæ their navy suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, who "hurled their youth into the sea to deliver Hellas from the bondage of the oppressor," and Italy from fear of Etruscan dominion. Henceforth their power declined; the triple alliance could therefore concentrate more of its strength against the mountaineers. It was a long, hard struggle. Year after year the Sabines, descending from their mountain homes, pillaged the Roman territory. Often, too, the beacons, blazing on the ramparts of Tusculum, announced that the Æquians were besieging that city, or the smoking farmhouses in the distance signalled to Rome their story of desolation. Then the plebeian, quitting political strife in the Forum, or leaving his plough in the furrow, took down from the walls of his hut the armor King Servius had ordered his grandfather or great-grandfather to buy, and hastened to his place in the

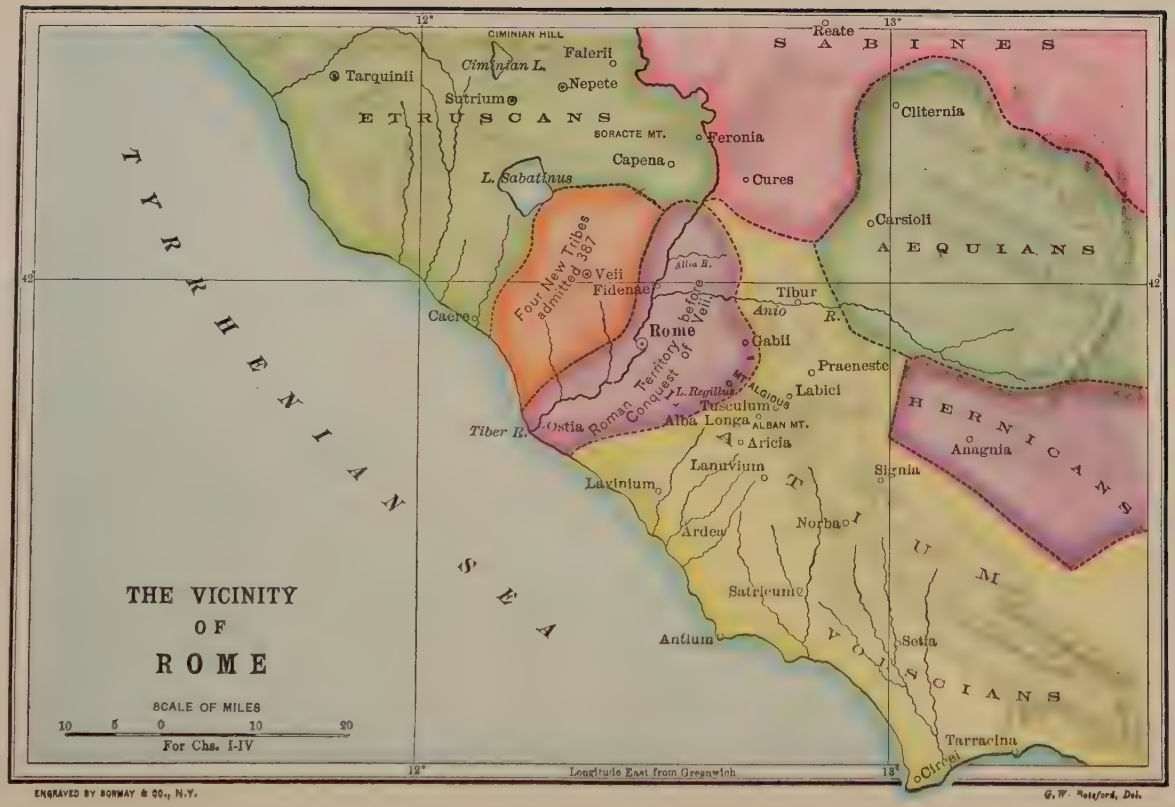
486 B.C.

Conflict between the plain and the hills.

474 B.C.

Pindar, *Pythian* i; Botsford, *Greece*, p. 142.

Pp. 31, 33.



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G. W. Botsford, Del.

phalanx. In open field this army, strengthened by the allies, was more than a match for the unorganized bands of Æquians. But defeating highlanders seemed like beating the air. Light as the wind they withdrew to their homes among the crags, and as lightly swept down again upon the unprotected fields of the allies. They seized Mount Algidus, cut the Hernicans off from the Romans, and raided the plain to within three miles of Rome. The story is told that once they entrappped the consul Minucius and his army in a valley. Thereupon the other consul, at the request of the senate, nominated Cincinnatus dictator, and messengers bore the important commission across the Tiber to his four-acre farm. Finding him in his tunic engaged in some rural work, perhaps digging a ditch, they greeted him as he leaned on his spade. "Put on your toga," they said, "to hear the message of the senate." "Is not all well?" he asked as he sent his wife Racilia to the house for his gown. Then wiping the sweat and dust from his brow and putting on the toga, he listened to the commission. He took command. Without delay, he relieved the besieged army, humbled the enemy, and returned to Rome, his troops laden with booty. So brilliant was the victory that the senate granted him a triumph. A grand procession, accordingly, moved along the Sacred Way through the Forum, then up the Capitoline to the temple of Jupiter. In front were the captive leaders of the Æquians; men followed with the standards of the enemy; then came the triumphal car in which sat the general clad in splendid robes. Behind the car the soldiers marched carrying the booty, singing the hymn of triumph, and indulging in coarse but good-natured jests at the expense of their commander, while the citizens spread tables before their houses for the entertainment of the army. The procession halted before the temple that the general might bring

Cincinnatus.
Pp. 38, 68.
Livy iii. 26.
P. 23.
P. 32.

the chief of the gods an offering of gratitude for the victory. Then resigning his command the sixteenth day after taking it, he returned to his farm. Though not genuine history, the story of Cincinnatus gives a true picture of the simple life of those early times and of the triumph of a victorious general. After Cincinnatus, the Romans had still many years of unsuccessful war with the Æquians.

The weakness of Rome. P. 4.

Meantime tribes of Volscians, who lived in the mountains southeast of the Hernicans, descending into Latium, overran the entire coast from Tarracina to Antium. Advancing still farther they seized several Latin towns within sight of Rome and threatened to besiege the city itself. At one time the mountaineers held nearly all Latium. The fact is that Rome had lost greatly by the overthrow of kingship; the monarch, commanding all the resources of the state, had given way to factions of nobles and commons, whose dissensions left their city weak in war. Under the kings Rome had won respect abroad, but on their downfall she lost contact with the Mediterranean world and for more than half a century she had to fight for existence against her petty neighbors, often beneath her own walls. Then followed a lull in the political storm, during which the triple alliance began to make headway against its enemies. The crisis came in 431 B.C., when the dictator Postumius, in a fierce battle, stormed the camps of the Volscians and the Æquians on Mount Algidus. Henceforth the Romans steadily advanced. Before the end of the century they had recovered Latium as far as Tarracina. Though the Æquians and the Volscians still gave trouble, they ceased to be dangerous.

509–449 B.C.

P. 79.

Battle of Mount Algidus, 431 B.C. Livy iv. 26–29.

405 B.C.

Siege of Veii. Livy iv. 32–v. 22; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 2–6.

Toward the end of the century the Romans began war upon Veii, an Etruscan city as large as their own, situated twelve miles distant on a steep and strongly fortified height. After a long siege the dictator Camillus took it, apparently

THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR AND POLLUX

by a mine. He permitted his soldiers to plunder the city, and sold the inhabitants into slavery. In after years the Romans had strange stories to tell of this war: the Alban lake mysteriously overflowed in a dry season and flooded the plain; an Etruscan seer foretold the invasion of the Gauls; the image of the Etruscan goddess Juno spoke, or at least moved. Ancient historians loved to compare the siege with that of Troy and insisted that it lasted ten years. However that may be, this conquest doubled the Roman territory, which soon afterward extended on the north to the Ciminian hills. 396 B.C. P. 6.

Battle of the Allia, 390 B.C.

In Etruria Rome first came into collision with the Gauls — tall warriors with fair hair and flashing eyes. Wherever they marched, "their harsh music and discordant clamors filled all places with a horrible din." About eleven miles from Rome, on the Allia, a tributary of the Tiber, they met a Roman army of forty thousand men. The barbarians fought in dense masses; their enormous swords cut through the helmets and gashed the heads of the Romans. The men who had often faced the hill tribes in battle fled in terror from these gigantic northerners. Some took refuge in deserted Veii; others bore news of the disaster to Rome. Diodorus xiv. 113–116; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 14–29. Livy v. 37.

The Gauls in the city, 390 B.C.

The city was in a panic; no one thought of defending the walls. The soldiers and the younger senators hurried to the citadel to strengthen its defences. Those who were unable or unwilling to fight dispersed through the country; the Vestals carried away the sacred fire to Cære, a neighboring town. Myth asserts that some of the priests and aged senators, placing their ivory chairs in the Forum, sat clad in official robes awaiting their fate. As the Gauls met with no resistance at the gates, they entered the city and besieged the citadel. Some of them under Brennus, their chief, descending to the Forum, as we are told in the story, P. 21. P. 29.

" wondered at the men who sat there silent, with all their ornaments, how they neither rose from their seats at the approach of the enemy, nor changed color, but sat leaning on their staffs with fearless confidence, quietly looking at one another. The Gauls were astonished at so strange a sight, and for a long time they forbore to approach and touch them, as if they were superior beings. But when one of them ventured to draw near to Papirius and gently stroke his long beard, Papirius struck him on the head with his staff, at which the barbarian drew his sword and slew him. Then they fell on the rest and killed them, with any other Romans whom they found; and they spent many days in plundering the houses, after which they burned them and pulled them down in rage at the men on the Capitoline, who instead of surrendering, repelled the assailants. For this reason the Gauls wreaked vengeance on the city, and put to death all their captives, men and women, old and young alike." This story was told in praise of the dignity, courage, and patriotic devotion of the Roman nobles. There is another tale, equally mythical, that one night the Gauls were attempting to steal their way up a rough precipitous side of the citadel, when the cackling of some sacred geese in the temple of Juno aroused the garrison and thus saved the place from the enemy. Perhaps this story was invented to explain why the Romans held geese sacred and honored them in an annual festival of Juno. Early Roman history is full of such myths.

Plutarch, *Camillus*, 22.

"Woe to the vanquished!"

At length the Romans on the Capitoline, weary with continual watching and threatened with famine, offered Brennus a thousand pounds of gold if he would withdraw. It is said that the barbarian chief threw his sword in the scale, exclaiming, "Woe to the vanquished!" and that while the parties were disputing over this increased demand, Camil-

lus, again dictator, appeared with an army on the scene and drove the Gauls away without their gold. Doubtless the Romans paid the ransom; the appearance of Camillus is a device of the historian for brightening a tarnished spot on the fame of Rome. Plutarch, *Camillus*, 28 f.

Rebuilding the city.

The people returned to the city and proceeded to clear away the rubbish. Each man built his hut wherever he found a convenient place. Within a year Rome with her narrow, crooked streets arose from the ashes. The new city, which acknowledged Camillus as founder, was as rudely built as the old. Though the people were impoverished by the war, though most of the public records perished, so that we shall never know the details of the earlier Roman history, the character and the institutions of the old city continued in the new; there was no break in the current of national life.

Military reform — the manipular legion.

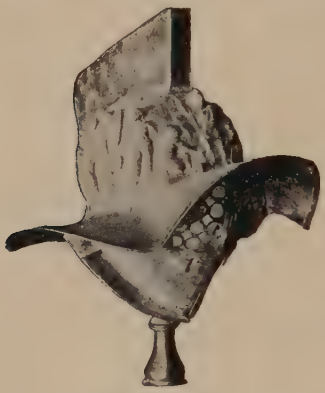
In addition to founding the city anew Camillus began to reform the army. Before his time the soldiers served without pay and equipped themselves according to their means. In the war with Veii, however, the senate began to pay them for service, thus making possible a thorough change in the military system; for henceforth the citizens, who had been accustomed to short summer campaigns, could serve the entire year, when necessary, and the poor man as well as the rich could buy a complete equipment. Hence the distinction of classes in the armor and in the arrangement of the troops gave way to a ranking according to experience. The recruit entered the light division; after a time he passed to the front line of the heavy infantry, thence to the second line, and when he became a veteran, to the third. The soldiers of the first two lines, besides defensive armor, carried each two *pila*, or javelins, for hurling, and a sword. The veterans were armed in the same way, except that instead

Polybius vi. 19 ff.

P. 33 f.

Polybius vi. 23.

of javelins each carried a lance. It was probably at the suggestion of Camillus that the Romans strengthened their defensive armor: on the large quadrangular shield which they now carried they fixed an iron boss for resisting pikes and missiles, and added a crest to the helmet for warding off the sword-blows of the Gauls. The crest was surmounted by "three purple or black feathers standing upright, about a cubit long. The effect of these plumes, combined with the rest of the armor, was to give the man an appearance of being twice his real height and a noble aspect calculated to strike terror into the enemy." In place of the solid phalanx, the lines of heavy-armed men were now divided each into ten companies called maniples, stationed at intervals in such a way that the vacant spaces in a line were covered by the companies of the following line. Ordinarily a legion consisted of three thousand heavy-armed troops and twelve hundred light-armed. The number of legions varied according to the requirements of war.



A Roman Helmet
(National Museum, Naples; from Pompeii.)

Ib.

The new cavalry.

Pp. 34, 39.

As great a change took place in the cavalry. Down to the war with Veii the knights, whose horses were furnished by the state, and who were all or nearly all patricians, carried light arms in the early Roman fashion, and accordingly proved nearly useless. But in that war sons of wealthy plebeians volunteered to serve in the cavalry with their own horses. As the offer was accepted, they armed themselves

with the heavier and better Greek weapons, so that henceforth Rome had an efficient cavalry. There were regularly three hundred knights to a legion, as before.

Plan of battle.

Usually battle opened with skirmishing of the light troops. As the hostile forces neared each other, apparently the maniples of the second line closed up the vacant spaces in the first; the van, thus formed, hurled their missiles, then sword in hand dashed upon the confused enemy. If they failed to win the victory, when weary with fighting they withdrew to the rear through the vacant spaces in the line behind them. Meantime the veterans waited, the right knee and the left foot resting on the ground, the shield leaning against the shoulder, the spear fixed upright in the earth. They seemed a rampart bristling with lances. When they found themselves facing the foe in the crisis of battle, they arose, and moving apart to the right and left, filled up the vacant spaces between the maniples, so that each man had ample room for action. Skilled by years of practice in the play of the sword and in the lance thrust, the old guard rushed upon the enemy. Each man fought his own battle as if Rome depended upon him alone. If the veterans failed, the fight was lost.

Livy viii. 8 (slightly corrected).

Superiority of the Roman military system.

The legion was a remarkable institution; strong, yet light and flexible, it combined in the missile, sword, and lance the advantages of distant and hand-to-hand fighting, — "the volley of javelins prepared the way for the sword encounter, exactly as a volley of musketry now precedes a charge with the bayonet." In the arrangement of the maniples it was at once open and compact; and as the Romans were accustomed to fortify the camp in which they expected to pass even a single night, they were always at liberty to choose between offering battle and remaining quietly behind their walls. Camillus began the reform in the conflict with Veii;

Mommsen, *Rome*, bk. II. ch. viii.

it required more than a century of wars with the Gauls, the Latins, the Samnites, and the Greeks to bring his work to perfection.

Organization of acquired territory.

While the Romans, by rebuilding the city and reforming the army, were striving to make good their misfortune, all the neighbors rose in arms against them, — Etruscans, Volscians, and even the chief towns of the Latins and the Hernicans. But their combined strength could not overwhelm the city; for Camillus, "the life and soul of Rome," everywhere led his legions to victory. The government secured its advantages by forming new tribes from the conquered territory[1] and by planting colonies in Etruria and in Latium, — for instance, Sutrium and Setia. A Latin colony, whether made up wholly of Romans or shared with the Latin and Hernican allies, was one which enjoyed the privileges of an old Latin town. The two just mentioned were of this class. A Roman colony, on the other hand, was one composed exclusively of Romans who continued to enjoy the privileges of full citizenship in the mother city. It was usually a garrison of three hundred men, with their families, established in a maritime town for the defence of the coast. The earliest of this kind was probably Antium, made into a Roman colony some years after the time of which we are now speaking. In addition to the colonies there were towns termed *municipia* with various privileges. The people of Tusculum, admitted to the Roman state in 381 B.C., enjoyed full citizenship and self-government; those of Cære, on the contrary, though citizens, could neither vote nor hold office at Rome, and at the same time their local freedom was restricted by the presence of an officer termed prefect, sent

Livy vi. 3.

Four new tribes, 387, and two in 358 B.C.

Colonies. 383, 382 B.C.

338 B.C.

Municipia.

Citizenship without the right to vote — "Cæritan rights."

[1] Rome formed new tribes on lands she had taken in war and settled with her own citizens. There were twenty tribes in the regal period, and one was added in the early republic (pp. 34, 73).

from Rome to administer justice among them. The system of organizing tribes, colonies, and municipia strengthened the hold of the leading city on the lands won in war. A great change had taken place in the relations between the allies themselves. A hundred years of warfare with the mountaineers had so weakened the Latins and the Hernicans that they could no longer claim equality with Rome. This city,—protected by her allies, yet posing as their champion,—gained politically by their loss. She now furnished all the commanders, and she claimed the lion's share of the spoils and of the conquered land.

Allies.

Fifth century B.C.

P. 40.

About the middle of the fourth century B.C., Rome allied herself with Samnium, the most powerful nation in the interior of the peninsula. While the city on the Tiber with the greatest difficulty had been gradually gaining control of south Etruria and had been slowly organizing her supremacy over Latium, the Samnites were passing through a brilliant career of conquest. Some of their tribes descended upon the coast region afterward known as Campania, southeast of Latium. This country is renowned for its fertility and beauty, for its bright sea and sunny sky; and on the coast is the great Bay of Naples, making commerce easy. Admitted in friendship to the Etruscan Capua, the barbarians massacred the inhabitants and took possession of the rich city. They conquered the Greek Cumæ and occupied the whole of Campania. About the time this invasion began, swarms of Samnites under the name of Lucanians, passing southward, assailed the cities of Magna Græcia. As they were equally successful in this region, we find them, before the treaty with Rome above mentioned, in possession of nearly all lower Italy. Thus in the brilliancy of their achievements the Samnites greatly surpassed the Romans; but their conquests were of no value to the nation as a whole, for the

Treaty between Rome and Samnium, 354 B.C.

P. 4.

Previous conquests of the Samnites. Polybius iii. 91.

424 B.C. Livy iv. 37.

P. 12.

420 B.C. Livy iv. 44.

Botsford, *Greece*, p. 246.

tribes which migrated from the hills to the coast lost all political connection with the mother country. Forgetting the primitive customs of the race, they readily learned to live the refined though less virtuous life of their Etruscan and Greek subjects. Accordingly while Capua became, next to Rome, the greatest and wealthiest city of Italy, her people won notoriety for weakness and vice. They trembled before their brave kinsmen of the hills; and though many Capuans were ready to serve for pay in foreign armies, few were willing to defend their own city. When therefore fresh tribes from Samnium ravaged their fields, they surrendered the city to Rome in return for protection. The senate hesitated to offend Samnium, an allied state; and yet it could not resist the temptation to acquire, even by violation of the treaty, so rich a country as Campania. By accepting this offer the Romans brought upon themselves the First Samnite War.

Livy vii. 30 f.

Contrast between Rome and Samnium. P. 2.

The two nations, however evenly matched, differed in character. The Samnites were mountaineers, who had no cities, no wealth, no king or aristocracy. Poor but brave and free, they looked greedily down upon the well-cultivated plains on their western border. With their skilful swords they hoped to win a title to these rich lands, as others of their race had done before. They were opposed in this project by a single city, governed by an able, warlike aristocracy, — a city which prided itself on the discipline and the subordination of the masses, and which controlled the resources of the plain extending from the Ciminian forest to the Liris River. No other country in Italy was so thoroughly centralized. Its army was a peasant militia, obedient to command, brave, patient, hardy, ready for long marches and severe toils; rarely over-elated by success or cast down by misfortune. Most of the commanders had inherited the

P. 36.

military knowledge and prestige of a long line of ancestors. In their military organization and tactics they had taken lessons of the Greeks; their legion was even an improvement on the Greek phalanx, especially as it was better adapted to fighting in the hills.

Pp. 33, 45.

First Samnite War, 343–341 B.C.

The Latins and the Romans entered this struggle with one soul; it was a national war for home and country, for the wealth and civilization of the plain against encroaching barbarism. They fought therefore with great spirit; the Samnites declared that in battle they saw fire in the eyes of the enemy and the fury of madmen in their faces, — this was their apology for flight. So great was the success of the Romans in this short war that the Carthaginians, who had recently made a new treaty with them, sent ambassadors to congratulate them, and to bring as a gift a golden crown of twenty-five pounds weight, which was placed in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline.

Livy vii. 33.

Treaty with Carthage, 348 B.C. Polybius iii. 24.

Livy vii. 38.

The mutiny, 342 B.C.

At the request of the Campanians the Romans garrisoned Capua and other towns of that country to repel the incursions of the Samnites. The soldiers stationed in Capua, who were poor and heavily indebted, complained among themselves of the way they were treated by the generals; apparently at the close of a campaign the commanders had often stricken the names of privates from the roll to deprive them of pay and of their share of booty. The military tribunes, — staff officers, — also, complained that the commanders degraded them to the rank of centurion — captain. Irritated by these real grievances and losing their discipline in the pleasures of the gay city, they plotted to massacre the Capuans, seize their wealth, and marry their wives. The conspirators were nearly ready for the deed when Gaius Marcius Rutilus, consul for the following year, arrived. He quietly dismissed from the army the most turbulent spirits,

Livy vii. 38–42.

who, however, assembled with others and marched twenty thousand strong against Rome. While they were in camp near the city, Marcus Valerius Corvus, who on their approach had been appointed dictator, came out to treat with them. As he was a great favorite of the soldiers he persuaded the mutineers to desist from their attempt, promising them a redress of their grievances. Accordingly on his motion the senate and assembly passed a law, which besides granting pardon for the mutiny, cancelled all debts and forbade both the erasure of a soldier's name from the military list and the degradation of a tribune.

Appian, *Foreign Wars*, iii. 2.

The Latins demand representation at Rome.

In 341 B.C. Rome and Samnium suddenly made peace and alliance; possibly both feared Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon, who had recently come to Italy with an army to help the Spartan colony, Tarentum, against the natives. The Romans immediately withdrew their army from the field, leaving the Latins and other allies in the lurch. For a time the war went on without the help of the leading city. At last the Latins, now at the head of a powerful alliance of neighboring states, thinking that they were as strong as the metropolis, demanded equal representation with the Romans in the consulship and in the senate; in place of allies they wished to be Romans. Though just, the demand was rejected with scorn; "a foreign consul and foreign senators sitting in the temple of Jupiter would be an insult to the supreme god of the state, as though he were taken captive by the enemy!" The Roman historian asserts that the gods, resenting the impudence of the Latin envoys, sent a thunderstorm while they were speaking, and that as Annius, chief of the embassy, was passing down the steps of the Capitoline temple, he fell forward with such violence upon a stone that he lost his senses.

Cf. p. 135.

Livy viii. 4 f.

War followed. The Romans and the Latins were of one

blood and speech and had long served under the same commanders. They had the same arms, the same military organization and discipline. Rome, however, enjoyed the advantage that comes to a single city in opposing a loose confederacy. She brought the war to a successful close in one or two fierce battles and a series of sieges. She then dissolved the Latin League and made separate treaties with Laurentum, which had remained faithful, and with Tibur and Præneste, — cities too strong for her to think of subduing. A few Latin towns were admitted to full Roman citizenship. The other towns of Latium [1] and those of Campania received the citizenship without the right to vote and hold office at Rome. While most of the Latin communities retained their local self-administration, Rome sent out prefects to rule those of Campania. Two new tribes were made of the lands taken in this war.

The Latin War, 340–338 B.C.

Livy viii. 6–13.

The Latin League dissolved, 338 B.C.

Livy viii. 11, 14; Festus, pp. 127, 233.

P. 49.

(29 tribes; p. 48.)

In the year in which the Latin League was dissolved, King Archidamus fell in battle. Thereupon the Tarentines called to their assistance Alexander, uncle and brother-in-law of Alexander the Great, and king of the Molossians, a tribe of Epirus. He came with an army organized like that of his famous relative. Meeting at first with marked success, he dreamed of building up as great a power in the West as his namesake was then creating in the East. Samnium aided and encouraged her southern kinsmen, the Lucanians and the Bruttians, while Rome, regardless of obligations to her neighbors, made a treaty with Alexander as well as with the Gauls, — both enemies of Italy. But the Greek King found it impossible to conquer the Italians.

Alexander, king of the Molossians

[1] Lanuvium, Aricia, Nomentum, and Pedum — all important cities — received the full Roman citizenship, — a privilege already enjoyed by Tusculum; p. 49. As a rule the smaller Latin towns were given the limited citizenship.

Astonished at their manly character, he is said to have exclaimed, "While my brother-in-law is fighting against women, I have to contend with men!" Finally he was slain by treachery, and his foes, relieved of intense fear, gave vent to their wild joy by mangling his body.

Livy viii. 24.

Second Samnite War, 326–304 B.C.

Rome, however, had offended Samnium by her treaties

A Proconsul
(National Museum, Naples; from Pompeii.)

and still more by founding Fregellæ, a strong fortress colony, near her rival's border. She showed her aggressive spirit further by besieging Naples, a free Greek city of Campania. The Samnites reënforced the place, and when Roman envoys complained to them of the act, their magistrates replied, "This is no subject for conference or arbitra-

tion ; let us meet in the plains of Campania, where our arms shall settle the dispute." It was a question whether Rome, by reducing all Italy to peace, should give her an opportunity for progress in government, in wealth, and in culture, or whether a large part of the peninsula should still be subject to the constant raids and the fruitless colonizations of half-civilized highlanders. At the beginning of the war Publilius Philo, a plebeian consul, was besieging Naples. The senate, to retain this able general at his post, continued him a second year in command with the title of proconsul. This new institution was of the greatest importance ; for we shall see that it was chiefly the proconsuls who conquered the world for Rome and who then overthrew the republican government of their city.

Livy viii. 23.

The proconsulship instituted, 326 B.C.

Cf. pp. 113, 188.

When Naples surrendered she became a naval ally, exempt from service on land but required to furnish warships and crews when needed. These favorable terms soon brought Rome other maritime allies. In diplomacy she showed her superiority to Samnium by drawing to her side the Apulians, who were incessantly harassed by the men of the hills, and the Lucanians, notwithstanding their close relationship with Rome's great enemy.

Rome wins allies.

The fortunes of war varied. At first Rome was successful ; then the tide turned in favor of Samnium, and several Latin towns revolted. In 321 B.C., Pontius, the Samnite leader, enticed the consuls with forty thousand men into an ambush at the Caudine Pass, in a valley of the Apennines, and compelled them to surrender. The consuls, in the name of the state, consented to the enemy's terms of peace ; the troops, deprived of their arms, passed humbly under the yoke, after which all returned home but six hundred knights, who were detained as hostages. Feeling keenly their disgrace, the soldiers slunk into the city under cover

Disaster in the Caudine Pass, 321 B.C.

Livy ix. 1–11.

of night; business closed, while all mourned the shameful surrender and treaty. As the consuls retired from office, Lucius Papirius Cursor and Quintus Publilius Philo, the two most eminent men in the state, were elected in their place. Under their influence the government repudiated the treaty on the ground that it had not been ratified by the people, and delivered to the enemy the ex-consuls who were responsible for it. After they had crossed the border, one of them, exclaiming that he was now a Samnite, kicked the Roman herald, to give his city a pretext for renewing the war. Such was the faith of the Romans, — strict adherence to the letter of an agreement, ready violation of its spirit.

A hero of the war.

Perhaps the most distinguished leader of the war was Lucius Papirius Cursor, mentioned above. "As a warrior he was worthy of every praise; for he had a quick mind and marvellous physical strength. In speed of foot he excelled all of his age, — whence came the name of Cursor to his family. Much practice in eating and drinking, or perhaps his remarkable health, had given him an enormous appetite and digestion. Never wearied by toil and marching, he wore out his army, foot and horse. When once the noble striplings in his cavalry ventured to ask that, as they had behaved well, he would excuse them from some of their work, he replied, 'You shall not say that no indulgence has been granted you; I excuse you from rubbing your horses' backs when you dismount.'" As dictator he once threatened to have Fabius, his master of horse, killed for fighting contrary to orders. The fact that the officer had won a great victory by so doing did not excuse him in the eyes of this stern disciplinarian; only the prayers of the senate and people saved him narrowly. Thereafter these two men could never be friends. On another occasion, "when the

Livy ix. 16.

Livy viii. 30–35.

P. 58.

NEW APPIAN WAY
(Beyond is the Claudian Aqueduct.)

prætor, or chief magistrate, of Præneste had been slow in bringing his troops to the front, Papirius summoned him to his tent and bade the lictor make ready his axe; then as the culprit stood frightened nearly to death, the commander said, 'Here, lictor, that stump is in the way; hew it down.'" Papirius was a model of firmness, strength, and energy. In these respects, as well as in his strict discipline and in his sense of responsibility and of the need of obedience, he was the ideal Roman of the age. His fellow-citizens, so Livy asserts, would have confidently matched him against Alexander the Great, had that conqueror carried out his plan of invading Italy. Livy ix. 16.

Roman policy of conquest.

After the disaster at the Caudine Pass, the war dragged on from year to year. The frequent raids of both parties across the border rarely culminated in a battle. In general the Samnites desired peace; but though the senate was willing to grant it, the people, who found in conquest their only remedy for overpopulation, would have nothing short of submission. It was the policy of Rome to settle and organize every foot of conquered ground, and to hem in her enemy by establishing fortress colonies on the border. In 312 B. C., Appius Claudius Cæcus, the greatest statesman of his time, bound Campania fast to the imperial city by a military road from Rome to Capua, named after him the Appian Way. P. 48. (Two new tribes, 318 B.C., making 31.) Appian Way, 312 B.C. P. 90 f.

Grand coalition against Rome, 311 B.C.

It seems probable that the same statesman provided for building the first Roman fleet, and for the first time compelled citizens without land to serve in the army. These new measures were necessary, for the ambitious policy of his city was arousing new enemies. First the Etruscans and the Umbrians joined Samnium; several lesser tribes followed; all Italy seemed aflame with war. At this crisis the consul Fabius, commander against the Etruscans, abandon- Livy ix. 32.

ing his communications, plunged boldly through the trackless Ciminian forest. Rome feared for her army, which had disappeared from sight; then came the happy news that it had emerged beyond the forest and was plundering the rich fields of central Etruria. At the same time a rumor spread that the other consul, commanding in Samnium, was in danger. The government could do nothing but appoint a dictator to go to the rescue. The senate's messengers, accordingly, hurried to Fabius and urged him for the sake of his country to lay aside his enmity toward Lucius Papirius and to nominate him dictator. "The consul, casting his eyes to the ground, left the messengers in doubt as to what he would do. Then in the silent time of night, according to the established custom," he made the nomination as they wished.

P. 56.

Livy ix. 38.

Great victory of Papirius, 309 B.C.

Livy ix. 40.

To the Samnites the struggle with Rome had become a holy war in defence of their homes and their altars. In the army which met Papirius, a sacred band, sworn to conquer or die, stood at the right clad in white tunics, their shields glittering with silver bosses. Another band wore gayly colored garments with gold-embossed bucklers. All had loose coats of mail, while on their helmets tall plumes waved. The fight was sharp; "the plains were quickly filled with heaps of bodies and of splendid armor." Rome's enemies fell; and the aged dictator celebrated his last and most magnificent triumph. Years afterward on festive days the silversmiths of Rome continued to hang these silver and golden shields in front of their shops as decorations of the Forum.

End of the war, 304 B.C.

Livy ix. 45.

The opposition to Rome weakened. The consuls of succeeding years gained fresh victories, ravaged Etruria, and captured the strongholds of Samnium. The war ended in 304 B.C.; though the Samnites had suffered great losses,

they remained free. With spirits still unbroken, they consented to a renewal of the former treaty. Rome contented herself with imposing these easy terms, as she wished to settle and to organize the territory won in the war. She aimed to cut Samnium off from Umbria and Etruria by a network of military roads and strongly fortified Latin colonies extending through central Italy; by similar means she planned to secure Apulia, while she maintained peace with the Greeks in the south of the peninsula.

(Two new tribes in 299 B.C., making 33.)

Map, p. 64.

Migration of the Gauls.

The work of organization might have continued for years, had not an unforeseen event cut it short. The whole Celtic race was in commotion; hordes of these people invaded Greece, Asia Minor, and Italy at nearly the same time. Those who came to Italy swept with them on their march the earlier Gallic settlers in the Po valley. As they proceeded southward they met with encouragement and support; for it had been the policy of Rome to attach the allies to herself by upholding the rule of their nobles. The aristocrats in the allied cities, accordingly, relying on this foreign help, had become intolerably proud and oppressive. When, therefore, the Gauls reached Etruria, the commons, revolting against their harsh masters, welcomed the barbarians as their saviours and gladly joined them against Rome. For similar reasons the Lucanians, the Umbrians, and some lesser tribes began war. The Samnites, who occupied the citadel of the peninsula, and who were the soul of Italian freedom, inspired and directed this grand democratic uprising against Rome, the stronghold of aristocracy. To hold his northern allies faithful, Egnatius, the Samnite commander, broke through the Roman barrier which extended across central Italy, and reached Etruria at the head of a great army. Rome exerted herself to the utmost to meet this formidable league. Never had Italy

299 B.C.

P. 40.

Polybius ii. 19.

Third Samnite War, 298–290 B.C.

Livy x. 11 ff.

seen armies so great or a military spirit so stubborn as in this war, which was to determine the fate of the peninsula.

Battle at Sentinum, 295 B.C.

The decisive battle was fought at Sentinum in Umbria. The Gallic war chariots furiously charged the Roman left commanded by the consul Decius; the clatter of hoofs and the rolling of wheels terrified the Roman horses and put even the soldiers to disorderly flight. Then at the dictation of a pontiff who stood by his side, Decius solemnly devoted himself and the enemy to ruin and death: "I drive before me terror and flight, blood and death, the rage of the gods of heaven and hell. May the breath of the furies infect the foemen's arms! May the Gauls and the Samnites sink with me to perdition!" As he said these words, he dashed on horseback into the thickest crowd of Gauls and perished on their spears. Though this religious act had little effect on the barbarians, it rallied the Romans. Strengthened by a force which Fabius, the other commander, sent from the right wing, they advanced to the attack; their javelins pierced the bulwark of Gallic shields; the barbarians fled. At the same time Fabius defeated the Samnites. By this victory Rome broke the league of her enemies. Deserted by their allies, the Samnites held out resolutely for five more years. At last Manius Curius Dentatus, a peasant who by personal merit had raised himself to the consulship, compelled them to sue for peace. They were now dependent allies of Rome.

Livy x. 28.

290 B.C.

Results of the struggle.

The conflict between the plain and the mountains, which, with brief interruptions, had raged for more than half a century, was ended. It had desolated Italy from Etruria to Lucania. Cities and villages were in ruins; pastures and cornfields had become a lonely waste; thousands of warriors had fallen in battle and thousands of men, women, and children once free were now slaves of the Romans. Civilization had triumphed, yet at a great cost; the war whetted

the Roman appetite for plunder and fostered slavery, the curse of ancient society.

War with Tarentum, 281–272 B.C.

Rome next designed to win control of all southern Italy. Accordingly she planted a colony of twenty thousand men at Venusia, in a strong position where Samnium, Apulia, and Lucania meet, with a view to keeping the surrounding tribes in check and to cutting Tarentum off from the interior. Then she openly broke her treaty with the Tarentines, who called on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, for help. This king, a brilliant military genius, came with a small but strong body of troops who were skilled in the arms and tactics of the Macedonian phalanx. He first met the enemy at Heraclea. Seven times the light battalions of Rome threw themselves against his "hedge of spears," only to be repulsed each time with heavy loss. Then his trained elephants, charging the weakened enemy, breached their lines like a volley of artillery. The Romans were shrinking before the "gray oxen," as they called these enormous beasts, when a sudden dash of the Thessalian horse completed their ruin. Allies now began to join the victorious general, who pushed on till he came within forty miles of Rome. So great had been his own losses in the recent battle, however, that he was anxious to make peace with the enemy, whose bravery and discipline he admired. Cineas, his ambassador, spoke eloquently in the senate; the commons, too, preferred peace, that they might settle the lands acquired in the Samnite wars. But Appius Claudius, now old and blind, carried on a litter into the senate-house, raised his voice against these shameful proceedings, — "Let Pyrrhus return home and then we may make peace with him," — thus setting forth the principle that thereafter Rome would take care of the interests of Italy. Failing to win his cause by eloquence or bribery, Cineas returned to his master with

Appian, *Foreign Wars*, iii. 7. 1; Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*.

Battle at Heraclea, 280 B.C.

Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 16 f.

Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 18 f.

the report that the Roman senate was an assembly of kings, and that the destruction of one army at Heraclea had resulted only in bringing twice as many fresh troops into service. He won another battle at Asculum, so dearly that he remarked to his friends, "Another such victory will ruin us." Then he crossed over to Sicily to aid his countrymen against the Carthaginians; but even with his brilliant successes there, he failed to dislodge the enemy from the island. Returning with a few veterans to Italy, he was defeated at Beneventum by Dentatus, and thereupon withdrew to his home.

Battle at Asculum, 279 B.C.

Battle at Beneventum, 275 B.C.

P. 60.

Character of Pyrrhus.

Pyrrhus was noble and generous; his contact with the Romans inspired even that boorish people with courtesy to their foe. And when his troops saw the splendid figure of their commander leading in the hottest of the battle, or mounted in their front on the rampart of a besieged city, hewing down the foe with his sword, they thought him more than human. But his genius was only for war: he knew not how to complete or to organize his conquests; he failed to attach to himself the peoples he had come to assist. The ease-loving Greeks of Italy and Sicily would have none of the discipline to which he subjected them. Refusing the rule of this chivalrous king, they had nothing left but submission to a nation whose speech and habits they had ridiculed as barbarous. After the departure of Pyrrhus Tarentum surrendered, and soon Rome became mistress of all Italy south of the Rubicon.

Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 8, 26.

272 B.C.

The organization of Roman rule in Italy. Tribes.

Within this territory were communities of every grade of privilege, ranging from full Roman citizenship to subjection. First there were the thirty-three tribes, — soon to be increased to thirty-five, — containing the full Roman citizens and occupying much of the country which lies between the Apennines and the sea and extends from Cære to For-

miæ. Although these citizens generally lived on their farms or in villages, they had a few larger towns, which enjoyed local self-government. Such towns were municipia of the highest class. Equally privileged were the Roman colonies founded mainly on the coast for the protection of the seaboard. Municipia of the second class enjoyed self-government and citizenship, except the right to vote and to hold office at Rome. A third class of municipia, ruled by prefects sent them from Rome, were called prefectures. Communities were reduced to this class generally as a punishment for rebellion or for other grave misconduct. These were the various grades of Roman citizenship; we shall now review the allies.

(P. 59, margin; last two tribes in 241 B.C., making 35.)

Municipia.

P. 49.

Roman colonies.

Prefectures.

Of the allied communities, the nearest to the Romans in race, in privileges, and in friendship were the Latins. First among them were those which remained of the original Latin towns, as Tibur and Præneste; next the Latin colonies founded in various parts of Italy, usually in the interior. The colonists were Romans or Romanized Latins, who prided themselves on their near relations with the mother city. They not only held the country about them in allegiance to the central government, but served at the same time as a means of spreading the Latin language and civilization throughout the peninsula. A network of military roads connected them with one another and with the governing city. Inferior to the Latins were those called simply the Italians, as for instance the Samnites. All the allied states, while exempt from taxation, furnished troops for the Roman army, with the exception of the naval allies, who provided ships and crews. Rome reserved to herself the right to declare war, tc make peace, and to coin money, while she granted to the allies the privilege of trading with her but generally not with one another.

Allies.

(1) The Latins.

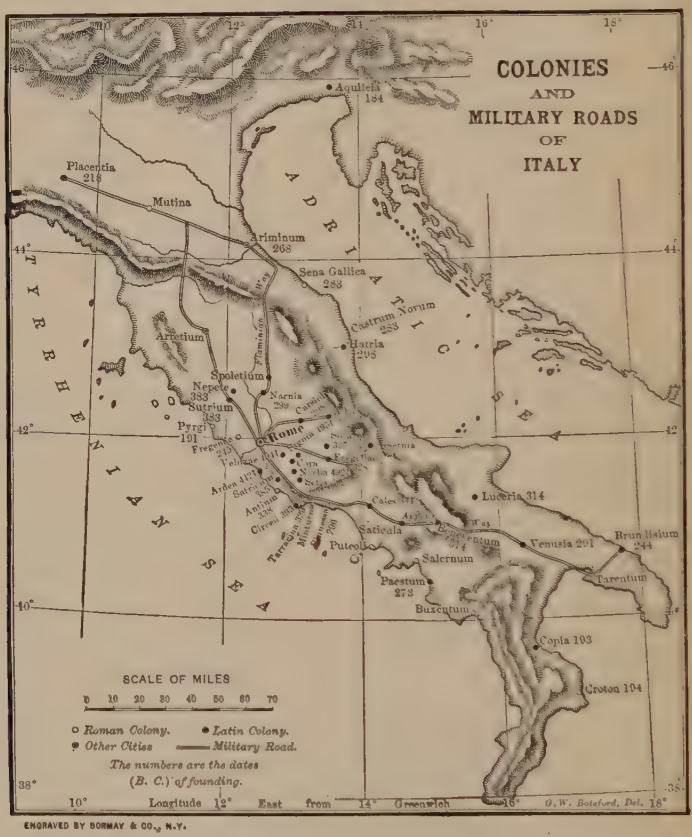
P. 53.

(2) The Italians.

P. 55.

Rome a great power.

This gradation of rights gave even the lowliest community hope of bettering its condition; it isolated the allies from one another and bound them singly to the central power.



The system here described extended northward only to the Æsis River; for the Senones, a tribe of Gauls occupying the Umbrian coast, now under Roman rule, were not allies but tributary subjects. Indeed it was chiefly in opposition

to the Gauls that the Italians, led by Rome, had come to look upon themselves as one people, — the nation of the gown against the nation wearing trousers. This federal system, based upon Italian nationality and directed by Rome, assured to the peninsula domestic peace and to the leading city a place among the great states of the world. The foremost powers of the East at this time were Egypt, — with which Rome allied herself in 273 B.C., — Macedonia, and the Seleucid empire; of the West, Carthage and Rome. P. 116.

Sources

Reading. Livy ii–xv (of bks. xi–xv we have but a brief epitome); Dionysius v–xx (of the last ten books fragments only are left); Polybius ii. 18–21 (Gallic invasion); Velleius Paterculus i. 14 f. (colonies); Diodorus xi. 53; xiv. 101 f, 113–116; xvi. 15; xix; Plutarch, *Coriolanus; Camillus; Pyrrhus;* Appian, *Foreign Wars*, ii, iii; Florus i. 9–26; Eutropius, i. 9–ii. 18; Justin xvii. 111–xviii. 2; Pausanias i. 11 f; cf. Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. iii.

For the early republic the sources are nearly as untrustworthy as for the regal period (p. 37), but improve as we pass the Gallic invasion (p. 45) and approach the Samnite and Punic Wars (pp. 91, 146 f.).

Modern Works

Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. II. ch. ii; Shuckburgh, *History of Rome*, chs. vi, vii, ix–xii, xiv, xv; How and Leigh, *History of Rome*, chs. vii, x, xi, xiii–xvi; **Ihne,** *Early Rome*, chs. xv–xvii, xx, xxi (to the Gallic invasion); *History of Rome*, bk. II. chs. iii–vi, xiv–xvi, xviii; bk. III. chs. i, iv–vi, viii–x, xii–xvii; Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. I. chs. vii–x; bk. II. chs. iv–vii; Duruy, *History of Rome*, II. chs. vii, x, xi, xiv–xvii; Taylor, *Constitutional and Political History of Rome*, ch. vi; Freeman, *Story of Sicily*, ch. xiii (for Pyrrhus); Montesquieu, *Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans*, chs. i–iv.

CHAPTER IV

THE PLEBEIANS WIN THEIR RIGHTS (509-264 B.C.)

First Period of the Republic — Internal History

Constitutional development, 509–264 B.C.

While Rome was gaining the supremacy in Italy, important changes were taking place in her government and in the condition of her people. The number of magistrates was increasing as the duties of government grew more numerous and difficult; and the plebeians, who in the beginning were excluded from office and from public influence, and even lacked the protection of the laws, gradually won equality in all respects with the patricians themselves.

The founding of the republic, 509 B.C.

P. 37.

In 509 B.C., the monarchy had given way to the republic. Though all the citizens without distinction of rank had joined in expelling the king, the nobles profited most by the change; for as they alone could hold priesthoods and offices and sit in the senate, they inherited all the authority of the monarch; and the great patricians who composed the senate built up the new form of government chiefly in their own interest. As they had failed to control the life-long king, they substituted in his place two consuls — colleagues — with equal power, elected annually by the assembly. Selected generally from the senate, and returning to it at the close of their year of office, these magistrates preferred to serve that body rather than the people. As each consul had a right to intercede against any public action of the other, and so bring it to naught, the two rulers, like the Spartan kings, by mutually checking one another, hindered

P. 24.

The consuls.

P. 37.

their office from growing all-powerful to the detriment of the senate. The consuls enjoyed most of the authority of the king together with his trappings and attendants, as the curule chair[1] and the lictors. A law said to have been passed in the first year of the republic compelled them in capital cases to grant an appeal to the assembly;[2] over the soldiers in the field, however, they exercised the same power as the king had possessed. The lictors, accordingly, who accompanied the consul to war, still carried his axes in their bundles of rods as a sign of his unlimited authority; but on returning with him to the city, they removed the axes from the rods, in order to show that he was no longer absolute master.

Botsford, *Greece*, p. 61.

Curule Chair and Fasces
(Relief on a cippus, Avignon.)

Livy ii. 8; Plutarch, *Poplicola*, 11.

P. 27.

Instead of dividing between them the duties of their office, the consuls usually took turns in managing the government for periods of a month each; while one discharged the functions of the office and had the lictors in attendance, the other through his right of veto interfered at pleasure.

Alternate command.

Dionysius v. 2.

[1] Cf. p. 26. The curule magistrates were those who sat in curule chairs. In the republican period they were the consuls, the dictator, the censors, the prætors, and the curule ædiles. If a man elected to one of these offices was not already a noble, the position ennobled him and all his descendants; p. 80.

[2] This was the Valerian Law. It is doubtful whether it was passed so early.

All this has reference to the administration of the city. The command of the army usually alternated daily; and even when it was necessary to divide the forces, each was still at liberty to check the plans of the other. Often in dangerous wars or seditions this double rule was a disadvantage to the state. In such a case, at the request of the senate, one of the consuls nominated a dictator, who, placing the state under martial law, ruled with absolute power. He appointed a master of horse to command the cavalry, and either suspended the ordinary magistrates or retained them as his assistants. His term was limited to six months; and it was an honor to him to bring the government safely through the crisis and resign his command within the fewest possible days.

The dictator.

Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 32; Dionysius v. 73 ff.

Assistants of the consuls.

P. 27.

The consuls, who were the only magistrates of the early republic, had assistants like those of the king. Two quæstors, appointed by them, kept the treasury in the temple of Saturn in the Forum. Two other quæstors detected crimes, and two judges of treason — *duoviri perduellionis* — tried cases of treason and other grave offences against the state, while a single judge sufficed for private cases. The quæstors served for a year; the consuls selected judges for trials as they arose. There was another important official, the city warden — *præfectus urbis* — whom the consuls appointed to take charge of the administration during their absence.

Changes in religion.

P. 27 ff.

The supervision of the state religion passed from the king, not to the consuls, but to the chief pontiff, who appointed the Vestals, and the individual priests, including the "sacrificial king" — *rex sacrorum* — now instituted to perform that part of the public worship which the king had attended to in person, in order that the gods might not miss their customary offerings. This priest-king, in title the

Livy ii. 2.

first man in the state, was the weakest in real power, as he could hold no political office.

The senate.

All important places of honor and trust — military, political, and religious — were filled by patricians, especially by senators. Now enlarged to three hundred members, the senate continued to exercise all the functions it had performed under the king. It even gained by the downfall of royalty; for the consuls felt themselves under greater obligations to consult it on important questions and to abide by its decisions. A body composed of members for life, who were taken from the leading families and were men of experience and ability, must have been more influential than the consuls, who at the close of their year of office could be called to account for their administration. As the senate controlled both the magistrates and the assembly, it was the chief power in the republic.

Pp. 3, 25.

The comitia centuriata.

In place of the old gathering of the curiæ, a new assembly — the *comitia centuriata* — gradually grew up. During the first half-century of the republic, Rome was constantly at war with her neighbors. Every year the army was in the field; and the commanders in their military cloaks ruled the city from their tents. They called to their council of war the officers of their staff; often, too, the six centuries of patrician knights; and sometimes assembled the entire army, that the soldiers might hear their plans. In this council of war and army muster lay the beginning of the comitia centuriata. We shall not attempt to follow the steps by which this assembly grew; it is enough to know that after years of development it contained eighteen centuries of cavalry, eighty centuries of the first or wealthiest class, twenty of the second, third, and fourth classes respectively, twenty-eight of the fifth class, and seven of musicians, workmen, and others exempt from regular service in the

P. 40.

P. 33 f.

Livy i. 43.

ranks — in all, a hundred and ninety-three.[1] The centuries of which this assembly was composed did not necessarily contain a hundred men each, but were voting units varying in size. A century of juniors was larger than one composed of seniors, while that of the proletarians — the landless — was by far the largest of all. At some time in the early republic the comitia centuriata, thus organized, took the place of the comitia curiata. Thereafter the centuries, meeting in the Campus Martius outside the city, elected the magistrates, heard appeals in capital cases, voted on proposals for laws and for wars, and ratified the treaties made by their commanders.

Voting.

Dionysius iv. 20.

The knights voted first, then the five classes in their order till a majority was reached for or against the proposition. If the knights and the highest class, who together formed the majority of centuries, agreed, they decided the question, so that the voting proceeded no farther. It rarely happened that all the centuries were called upon to give their votes.

[1] *Note*

	Juniors (17–46 years)	Seniors (above 46 years)
I. Class	40 centuries	40 centuries
II. "	10 "	10 "
III. "	10 "	10 "
IV. "	10 "	10 "
V. "	14 "	14 "
	84	84
		168 centuries
Cavalry		18 "
Substitutes for the killed and wounded		2 "
Musicians and workmen		4 "
Proletarians		1 "
Total		193 centuries

It is to be noted that the Servian army of two legions contained but six centuries of cavalry and the eighty-four centuries of junior infantry. The remaining twelve centuries of cavalry were added long after the beginning of the republic, and the seniors, substitutes, etc., were organized in centuries merely for voting purposes.

The comitia curiata continued to meet to confer the imperium upon the newly elected magistrates and to attend to other such formalities. It had no longer a real authority and was generally ill attended; thirty lictors cast the votes of the curiæ, and three augurs were present to see that the religious ceremonies were duly performed.

The comitia curiata.

P. 26.

In the comitia curiata all had an equal vote; but the Servian reorganization of the army wrought a great change: the rich, who in the new army equipped themselves with the strongest and most expensive weapons, insisted on having more power in the assembly than those who carried light arms or were altogether exempt from service on account of poverty. By introducing privileges graded according to wealth and military equipment, the new assembly elevated the rich and degraded the poor.

The two assemblies compared.

P. 34.

In estimating the political importance of any Roman assembly, however, the question as to who attended or how they voted is secondary. We must chiefly bear in mind that the presiding magistrate alone had the right to propose measures and to present candidates for election; that he and those he invited monopolized the speaking; that the common members had merely the right to vote. Then if the result displeased the magistrates or the nobles, they could annul it by having the augurs declare that some religious rite connected with the business had not been duly observed,[1] or the senate could refuse its sanction. This applies to elections as well as to laws and other resolutions. In contrast with the Athenian assembly, that of Rome continued to the end dependent on the will of the senate and magistrates. The difference between Athenian and Roman constitutional history hinges on this point.

The importance of the Roman assembly.

Botsford, *Greece*, p. 176.

[1] The plebeian assembly, however, was free from the auspices; p. 75.

The plebeians.

In most respects the common people lost by the overthrow of monarchy. Especially the later kings, while striving to repress the growing power of the patricians, protected the poor and freed many of them from clientage, assuring them justice in the courts of law and shielding them from the oppression of the nobles and the exactions of landlords. Accordingly there may be some truth in the story that as long as Tarquinius Superbus lived, the patricians treated the plebeians with great kindness, but began to oppress them as soon as they received news of his death. Now that all fear of a relapse to the monarchy was at an end, and the poor no longer had a champion, the patricians began to reduce the small farmer to the condition of client from which the kings had freed him. They exacted illegal or excessive rents; arrears they regarded as debts bearing heavy interest. The creditor had a legal right to seize the delinquent debtor and his children, to hold them as slaves till they had worked off the debt, or to sell them into actual servitude to foreigners. A harsh creditor sometimes threw his debtors into his private prison and scourged or otherwise maltreated them in the hope of influencing their kinsmen to redeem them. Livy, the historian, tells us that once "a certain aged man ran into the Forum with all the badges of his miseries upon him. His clothes were squalid, his pale emaciated body was still more shocking, while his long beard and hair gave him a wild, savage look. In spite of his wretchedness, people recognized him as a centurion and pityingly spoke of the distinctions he had gained in war. He himself showed a breast scarred in honorable battles. When asked whence came that wretched garb and that ghastly appearance, he said to the crowd which had gathered about him 'While I served in the Sabine War, the enemy pillaged my land, burned my house, and drove my cattle away. I borrowed money to pay

Dionysius vi. 74; Muirhead, *Roman Law*, p. 88.

P. 24.

Livy ii. 23.

my taxes; the debt increased till it robbed me of my forefathers' estate, and then the mischief reached my body, for my creditor put me not into slavery but into a house in which he scourges and slays his victims.' He then showed his back disfigured by fresh blows." Though the debt came probably not from taxes, which were light in early times, but from the exactions of landlords, we may believe that Livy has given us a true picture of the miseries of the poor. The people revolted against such injustice; the whole army, deserting the commanders, marched off in good order to a hill afterward known as the Sacred Mount, and threatened to found a new city there, which should be free from patrician control. They had selected as their future country the land beyond the Anio recently won from the enemy and admitted as the twenty-first tribe, — the first tribe which had not fallen under the rule of the lords. The senate, helpless without the support of the plebeian army, sent them an ambassador.

First secession of the plebs, 494-493 B.C.

Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, v. 81.

At this time the Romans knew nothing of a written constitution or even of written laws. Accordingly, though the patricians were willing to grant concessions, it did not occur to them to draw up a "charter of liberties" for the plebeians. Instead of this the government made a treaty with them, which assured them the protection they needed. By the terms of this agreement the plebeians were to have two annual officers of their own, called tribunes, whose persons were to be sacred and who were to protect all plebeians who felt themselves mistreated or oppressed. Any person, even a consul, who injured a tribune or hindered him in the exercise of his duties, might be slain by any one as a man accursed. Usually, however, an aggrieved tribune contented himself with inflicting a milder penalty, as a fine or imprisonment. The law forbade the tribune to be absent from the city over night and compelled him to leave his

The tribunes of the plebs, 493 B.C.

Livy i. 33; Dionysius vi. 89.

door open always, that the injured and oppressed might find refuge with him at any hour.

The organization of the plebs.

The plebeians had two other officers named ædiles, who were stewards of the temple of Ceres recently built at the foot of the Aventine. The worship of Ceres in this temple was an imitation of that of the Greek Demeter, and was performed in the Greek language by priestesses from Naples. As the goddess of agriculture Ceres blessed the farmers, their fields, and their produce. The estates of those who offended the tribunes became her property. The plebeians had not only their religious worship, but also an assembly which they could control. In the curiæ under the presidency of the tribunes they elected officers and passed resolutions, which were binding only on themselves. With their religious and political organization they maintained the liberties they had and gradually gained more rights.

Dionysius vi. 89.

CERES
(Vatican Museum, Rome.)

The plebeians soon found an earnest helper in one of the patricians, Spurius Cassius, the most eminent statesman of

his time. While he was consul, in 486 B.C., he proposed an agrarian law, the contents of which we do not know. He may have wished to take some of the public land from the rich, who were holding it, and to distribute it among the poor; or he may have aimed to give the peasants a better title to their lands. The proposal never became a law; either it did not pass the assembly or the senate refused to sanction it. The patricians asserted that he had offered the measure merely to win popularity, — that his real object was to make himself king. When, therefore, his term of office expired, the quæstors prosecuted him for treason, and he was condemned to death.

The agrarian bill of Spurius Cassius, 486 B.C.

P. 40.

P. 72.

The fate of Cassius shows how helpless the plebeians still were and how strong were their oppressors. Though by means of their auspices the nobles could not control the plebeian assembly, they with their clients attended the meetings to impede the business. Among these dependents were many who owned no land. To destroy the influence of the latter class, Publilius Volero, a tribune in 471 B.C., induced the senate and the assembly of centuries to pass a law which provided that the plebeian comitia should vote by tribes, each of the twenty-one tribes to cast a single vote. As only landowners were enrolled in the tribes the landless were excluded from the assembly. The newly organized gathering, called the *comitia tributa*, had as yet no authority over the state, but met simply for the transaction of plebeian business. In the same year the number of tribunes was doubled, and somewhat later was increased to ten.

The law of Publilius Volero, 471 B.C.

P. 73.

Livy iii. 30; Dionysius x. 30.

Diodorus xi. 68.

Hitherto we have thought of the tribunes as protectors of the commons without distinction; officially henceforth they represented rather the country plebeians, who owned land, and who through their tribal assembly were to gain great

The country plebs and the city plebs.

political influence. The landless, on the contrary, consisting chiefly of city plebeians, remained inferior; for they lacked the means of making their wishes known and felt. The two branches of the plebs often conflicted, and statesmen found it difficult to harmonize them in the interest of reform.

The struggle for written laws, 462–452 B.C.

P. 24.

Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 36 f; Livy iii. 9 ff; Dionysius x. 1 ff.

Up to this time the laws were unwritten. The patricians, who were alone acquainted with them, handed them down orally from father to son. This exclusive knowledge they used for the oppression of the commons; the patrician judge decided cases in favor of men of his own rank, and no plebeian could quote the law as proof of the injustice. In 462 B.C. Gaius Terentilius, a tribune, began to urge the codification of the laws in the interest of the class he represented. Though the patricians were successful in opposing him, the tribunes of the following years, taking up his cause, carried on the struggle without interruption. Their aims were heartily favored by one of the patricians, Appius Claudius, a man of rare intelligence and ability.[1] Under the influence of Appius and the tribunes the senate yielded, and sent a committee to some of the Greek states of Italy to examine their codes of law, the earliest and most famous of which was that of Zaleucus, the Locrian. It is possible that this committee went even to Athens to look over the laws of Solon, some of which were still in force. On their return, the consul Sestius, with the consent of the senate, offered to the centuries a bill which provided that ten men — *decemviri* — with the power of consuls, should be elected for the purpose of writing the laws, and that during their term of one year they should have absolute control of the

Botsford, *Greece*, p. 32.

The decemvirs, 451–449 B.C.

Livy iii. 31; Dionysius x. 51.

[1] The story of the decemvirs as told by the ancient writers is undoubtedly a political falsehood. The narrative given in this book aims to present the few known facts in their true light.

government, all other offices, including the tribunate of the plebs, being suspended. With the support of Claudius, consul-elect, the bill became a law. Though plebeians were eligible to the new board of ten, the assembly elected only patricians, among them Claudius. "He desired to make such laws for his country as should bring peace and concord; he wished to teach the citizens by his own example to look upon the republic as one body." As he was the ablest of the decemvirs, and the only man among them with a well-considered plan, all looked to him as the head of that body. Before the year ended they had engraved ten tables of the law, which, after ratification by the senate and people, they set up in the Forum, where all could read them.

The first year.

Dionysius x. 54.

As they had not finished writing the laws and as their government gave satisfaction to all alike, it was decided to elect decemvirs for the following year. Some of the patricians wished even to continue this form of government indefinitely, as it would rid them of the troublesome tribunes and would assure to their rank the control of the government. Assenting in the main to this proposition, Claudius determined nevertheless that the plebeians should have representatives on the board. He favored especially the mercantile and industrial classes, and undoubtedly hoped to see Rome a great centre of trade and traffic, like Corinth or Syracuse. He wished to engrave on the following tables certain laws beneficial to these classes, especially some regulations of weights and measures, of coinage and the calendar. Presiding over the assembly which chose new decemvirs, he secured, accordingly, his own reëlection, and filled the remaining places with men who shared his views, — three, possibly five, of whom were plebeians. His management of the elections, together with his radical commer-

The second year.

cial policy, roused much ill feeling. All the conservative patricians now began to oppose him bitterly. By insisting further that intermarriage between the two ranks should be prohibited by a law of the tables, as it had always been forbidden by custom, he angered the richer plebeian families, who were now seeking alliance by marriage with the nobles. In support of their natural leaders the peasants turned against Claudius, who henceforth had only the city plebs and a few liberal patricians to rely upon. As the senate and people refused, accordingly, to consider the two tables engraved in the second year, Claudius, with his colleagues, determined to remain in office till they secured the ratification; for the constitution compelled no magistrate to retire against his will. Hereupon their enemies accused them of acting like tyrants and of attempting to maintain themselves in power for life. There is a story, undoubtedly invented by the aristocrats, that these magistrates induced some soldiers to murder a certain ex-tribune, Sicinius, for stirring up strife against them. Another story, equally improbable, represents Claudius as seized with an unholy passion for Virginia, a plebeian girl. To get her into his power, it is said that he adjudged her as a slave to one of his clients, and that the father, to save his child from dishonor, killed her with a knife. Indignation aroused by these acts is given as the cause of the overthrow of the decemvirs. It is far easier, however, to believe that these stories are aristocratic falsehoods for blackening the memory of the decemvirs than it is to imagine that the man who gave his country the priceless treasure of just laws could be himself a monster of injustice and cruelty.

Political falsehoods.

The overthrow of the decemvirs, 449 B.C.

In fact, the overthrow of the decemvirs resulted from political feelings excited by their plans of reform. Inflamed by the ex-tribunes, the plebeians seceded again to the

Sacred Mount, and thus compelled the senate to depose the decemvirs contrary to law. Claudius and one of his colleagues were thrown into prison, where they were probably murdered; the other members of the board fled into exile. Then Valerius and Horatius, consuls in 449 B.C., secured the ratification of the two tables, apparently after having made some alterations in them. The prohibition of intermarriage between the ranks remained unchanged. With this exception the laws of the Twelve Tables equalized the private rights of all and continued to be the fountain of justice for centuries. As a part of their education the boys even of Cicero's time had to commit them to memory, — a text-book more useful than entertaining.

P. 73.

Livy iii. 34.

Cicero, *Laws*, ii. 4, 23.

The Valerian-Horatian Laws, 449 B.C.

Valerius and Horatius, who were popular with the peasants, easily reconciled the lower classes to the patricians by passing a law which provided that, with the previous consent of the senate, the resolutions of the comitia tributa should be binding on the whole people. As the organization and, up to this time, the presiding officers were plebeian, the acts of the tribal assembly expressed the will of the inferior rank. Soon, however, state officers began to call this comitia for the election of such minor officials as the quæstors, and occasionally for other business. About the same time it was agreed that the tribunes should place their bench at the door of the senate-house, through which they could listen to the proceedings within. Thereafter if the senate passed an act to which they had no objection, they signed it, thus abandoning their right to oppose it in the assembly. But if the consul proposed a measure which displeased them, their "*Veto*," shouted through the door, caused the measure to be dropped. This simple word of theirs prevailed against the magistrates when in the city, and against the senate and assemblies. They could close the treasury

P. 75.

Dionysius xi. 45.

Increased power of the tribunes.

by placing their seal on the door; a single tribune could stop the entire machinery of government. With this absolute power of prohibition as their weapon, the leaders of the plebs resumed the struggle for equality of rights.

The Canuleian Law, 445 B.C. Livy iv. 1–6.

A few years after the consulship of Valerius and Horatius, a law of the tribune Canuleius permitted intermarriage between the two ranks. This reform directly affected only the tribunician families, — that is, those influential plebeian families which had already an hereditary claim upon the tribuneship. Though long before the passage of this law they had wished to secure the right to hold state offices, a religious difficulty stood in the way; for Jupiter, through the auspices, revealed his will only to those of noble blood. But by intermarriage with this especially privileged class, the plebeian leaders had hoped to come into favor with the gods and thus to break down the religious barrier in their way to office. They reasoned rightly; for immediately after the passage of the Canuleian law the patricians formed a plan of admitting them to office, though not to the consulship. It was agreed that whenever the senate so determined, military tribunes with consular power, — or more briefly, consular tribunes, — should be elected for the year in place of consuls, and that both ranks should be alike eligible to this office. Their reason for this arrangement is clear: the consuls were highly honored magistrates, who at the close of their term became influential members of the senate. Besides other distinctions, they and their descendants enjoyed the privilege of setting up in their halls waxen masks of their ancestors and of having these masks worn in procession at their family funerals. This peculiar form of ancestor worship distinguished the nobles from the commons. In other words, the consulship ennobled forever the

P. 29.

The consular tribunes, 444–367 B.C. Livy iv. 6; Dionysius xi. 53–61.

Polybius vi. 53.

family of the occupant.[1] Now as the military tribunate, even when invested with the consular power, conferred no such honor, the patrician senate, in occasionally substituting this magistracy for the consulship, and in opening it to plebeians, granted them office without nobility. The number of consular tribunes ranged from three to six. For nearly half a century, however, the patricians, by influence and intrigue, prevented the plebeians from holding this office. Most of the commons even preferred patrician magistrates, as they lacked confidence in the military talent of their own leaders. The plebeians who were ambitious for office found, accordingly, that the consular tribunate brought them no advantage.

The censors, 443 B.C.

All the duties of the consuls did not pass to their substitutes, the consular tribunes; for soon after the institution of the latter office the Romans created two new patrician magistrates, the censors, whose chief duty was to make a register of the citizens and their property and to assign each man to his tribe and class, — a work hitherto performed by the consuls. They also farmed the taxes and attended to the erection of public buildings. Like the consuls, the censors were chosen by the comitia centuriata, and were curule magistrates, though without the imperium. Elected at intervals, usually of five years, they were required to complete the census within eighteen months after their entrance into office, unless the senate granted them an extension of time. This office was instituted not only to make the census more regular and more effective, but also to debar consular tribunes, who might be plebeians, from the important functions which the censors assumed.

Livy iv. 8.

P. 26.

Soon after the institution of the censorship, there was a

[1] With the exception of the consular tribunate, all curule offices conferred nobility; p. 67, n. 1.

Spurius Mælius.

Dionysius xii. 4; Livy iv. 12 ff.

famine in Rome; and with the petty means he employed, the patrician supervisor of the market found it impossible to relieve the distress. In these circumstances Spurius Mælius, a wealthy plebeian, with his own money, bought up grain from the neighboring states and distributed it free among the suffering. His generosity made him so popular that he might easily have won the consular tribunate, or perhaps even the consulship, had he offered himself as a candidate. The patricians, however, prevented this by charging him with attempting to make himself king; it was with this end in view, they asserted, that he had striven for popularity. Though the charge was utterly groundless, the senate proclaimed him a traitor, whom any one might kill as a man accursed. Servilius Ahala, a patrician, undertook the deed. Meeting Mælius in the Forum, he called him aside under pretence of wishing to speak with him, and then stabbed him with the dagger he had concealed beneath his arm. The Romans of after time looked upon Mælius as a despicable traitor and Servilius as a citizen whom all should imitate.

The military quæstors, 421 B.C.

Livy iv. 43.

P. 68.

Notwithstanding such misfortunes to their party, the plebeian leaders began to meet with greater success in their struggle for office. In 421 B.C. two military quæstors were instituted to attend to the financial business of the army.[1] At the same time it was agreed that plebeians also should be eligible to the office of quæstor, whether civil or military; and some years later they actually succeeded in filling three of the four places with men of their own rank. In 400 B.C. they elected their first consular tribunes. Less successful in their later contests for this office, however, the leaders of the commons shifted their

[1] Other quæstorships were afterward instituted to manage the finances of the provinces; p. 131.

tactics and demanded not only that the consulship should be thrown open to them, but that one of the places should be filled exclusively by plebeians. In order to gain their object it was necessary for them to win the support of the poorer class, who had little preference as to the chief magistrates, or who even favored patricians. Fortunately for the leaders of the plebs the sack of Rome by the Gauls made the common people still poorer; the rebuilding of the city and the repair of farms, after the Gallic devasta-

The economic crisis.

P. 45.

AN AS

(A bronze coin of the fourth century B.C., weighing 10½ oz. Front, head of Janus; back, prow of a galley.)

tion, involved many in debt. The common people fell into great distress for want of means to live and to pay what they owed. Their condition was made harder by the great economic crisis through which Rome was now passing. Down to the time of the decemvirs, she had no money whatever; her citizens bartered their wares and their farm produce; their standards of value were sheep, oxen, and copper. Apparently the decemvirs introduced the idea of coinage from Greece; at least it came in their time. The government began to issue a copper coin, termed *as*,

which weighed a pound. Henceforth values were reckoned in coin, and creditors demanded it in payment of debts. For a long time, however, money was scarce, so that the poor could find none with which to settle their accounts.[1] The tribunes of the plebs, ready to bargain with their people, promised them a law for the relief of debtors, in return for support in their contest for political honors.

The public land.

The people were discontented, too, with the way in which the government disposed of the public land. "The Romans as they subdued successively the Italian nations in war, seized a part of their lands and built towns there, or established their own colonies in those already existing, and used them as garrisons. Of the land acquired by war they assigned the cultivated part forthwith to settlers, or leased or sold it. Since they had no leisure as yet to allot the part which then lay desolated by war, — generally the greater part, — they proclaimed that meantime those who were willing to work it might do so for a share of the yearly crops, — rendering to the government a tenth of the grain and a fifth of the fruit. From those who kept flocks was required a share of the animals, both oxen and small cattle. . . . But the rich, getting possession of the greater part of the undistributed lands, and being emboldened by the lapse of time to believe that they should never be dispossessed, and adding to their holdings the small farms of their poor neighbors, partly by purchase and partly by force, came to cultivate vast tracts instead of single estates."

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 7.

Need of an agrarian law.

It was proposed to limit the amount of public land which a man might occupy, that the surplus might be distributed among the poor. Though the tribunician families themselves held much of this land, they were willing to sacrifice

[1] For the influence of this economic crisis on the condition of the poor, I am indebted to the investigation of Mr. David Taggart Clark.

a part of it if for so doing the poor would help them gain the consulship and, through it, the nobility. Evidently they were making use of the suffering and the discontent of the people to further their selfish ambition; for when Marcus Manlius, a noble-hearted patrician, a man who stood high in the esteem of all, tried by his private means to relieve the distress and set before the rich an example of personal kindness and of benevolence, the tribunes prosecuted him for aiming to make himself king and had him put to death as a traitor. They were determined that none but themselves should aid the commons and so reap the rewards of popularity.

385–384 B.C.

Livy vi. 11 ff.

APOLLO WITH A LYRE
(National Museum, Naples.)

The Licinian-Sextian Laws, 367 B.C.

Livy vi. 34–42; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 39–42.

The bill which combined political with economic reforms originated with the tribunes Licinius and Sextius, who are said to have urged it for ten successive years. When the patricians objected that no plebeian had yet filled a priestly office or had taken the auspices, the two tribunes answered their argument by securing the passage of a law which raised the number of "Keepers of the Sibylline Books" from two to ten and provided that five should be plebeians. As the patricians could no longer exclude the plebeians from the consulship

P. 31.

on religious grounds, they yielded, and the Licinian-Sextian bill became a law, in 367 B.C. Its provisions were as follows: —

There shall be no more consular tribunes, and one of the two consuls shall henceforth be a plebeian.

Interest paid in shall be deducted from the principal, and the balance of any debt shall be paid in three equal annual instalments.

(A jugerum is a little less than two-thirds of an acre.)

No one shall occupy more than five hundred jugera of the public land.

No one shall pasture more than a hundred cattle or five hundred sheep on the public land.

When, according to this law, the tribune Sextius was chosen first plebeian consul for the following year, the senate refused to sanction the election till the people had consented to the institution of three new patrician magistrates: the prætor, who was to be judge in civil cases and to have command of the city during the absence of the consuls,[1] and two curule ædiles, who were to supervise the streets and public buildings, the markets, and the public games.

The prætor and the curule ædiles, 366 B.C.

The new nobility.

The effect of the Licinian-Sextian law as to the consulship was gradually to enlarge the nobility; henceforth it consisted not only of patricians but also of all plebeians who were admitted to a curule office — themselves called "new men" — together with their descendants. As a rule wealthy plebeians were chosen; and the patricians, who still exer-

[1] When, in 242 B.C., a second prætorship was instituted, the distinction first arose between the *prætor urbanus* and the *prætor peregrinus*. The first had charge of cases which concerned citizens only, while the second attended to those which affected an alien. Other prætorships were afterward added for the government of provinces; p. 130. The office was first occupied by a plebeian in 337 B.C.; p. 88.

cised great influence at the elections, preferred to admit to the nobility men who shared their political views and who were closely connected with them in friendship or by marriage. Thus the nobility had found a means of recruiting itself with fresh blood without disturbing its own unity. To

ÆSCULAPIUS

(National Museum, Naples.)

commemorate the harmony of the new arrangement, the aged Camillus founded a temple to Concordia at the end of the Forum beneath the Capitoline Hill.

Aims of the new nobility.

Understanding that the fewer they were the more honor would be theirs to enjoy, the nobles strenuously opposed the admission of new members. They preferred to have one

of their number hold the consulship four or five times, and other high offices in addition, rather than to receive new men into their privileged society. But when a law was passed that no one should hold the same office within a period of ten years, or more than one office at a time, a greater number of new men was necessarily elected, and, in consequence, the nobility became more representative of the people as a whole. Before the fourth century B.C. closed, plebeians had gained admission to all the curule offices and finally to the colleges of augurs and pontiffs.

The law of the tribune Genucius, 342 B.C. Livy vii. 42.

The assemblies.

While the leaders of the plebs were winning political rights, the masses in their assemblies were striving for legal freedom from the control of the senate. A law of Publilius Philo, the famous plebeian general of whom we have heard, compelled the senators, before the voting began, to give their sanction — *auctoritas* — to the bills brought before the comitia centuriata; and the Hortensian law of 287 B.C. probably made unnecessary the consent of the senate to measures brought by the tribunes before the assembly of tribes.[1] Though one would naturally suppose that these

Law of Publilius Philo, 339 B.C. P. 56. Livy viii. 12.

Law of Hortensius, 287 B.C. Livy (epitome) xi.

[1] Three laws passed at different times make the resolutions of the tribal assembly, or assemblies, binding on the people.

I. The Valerian-Horatian law of 449 B.C.: "*Whatever the plebs order in the tribal assembly shall be binding on all the people.*" Livy iii. 55.

Though it seems probable that the tribal assembly of this period included both ranks, the majority of members, the organization, and the presidency were plebeian; hence, apparently, it was called an assembly of the *plebs*.

II. The law of Publilius Philo, 339 B.C.: "*The orders of the plebs shall be binding on all the Romans.*" Livy viii. 12.

It seems probable that in the period between 449 and 339 B.C. the patricians ceased attending the tribal assembly when it was called by a tribune, and that the law here quoted made the acts of the exclusively plebeian assembly thus formed binding on all the Romans. This plebeian assembly is sometimes called a comitia tributa, sometimes merely a "council." The distinction between the tribal assembly of

acts opened the way to hasty legislation, such was not the case. The tribunes were now usually nobles and had seats in the senate, which employed them accordingly as ministers for checking other officers and for bringing measures before the people. The tribal assembly, less cumbersome than that of the centuries, was far more convenient for legislation; and in case a magistrate dared offer a resolution which the senate disapproved, it was generally easy to find a tribune to intercede against him and thus to prevent the measure from being put to vote. Rarely, therefore, did any one attempt to pass a law without the approval of the senate. It speaks well for the ability of the senate that, while yielding legal claims to power, by moral force it acquired still greater authority, and that under its selfish though wise management, the democratic movement which began with the origin of the plebeian tribunate resulted in the more thorough establishment of aristocratic government.

The city plebs.

It is important to bear in mind that those plebeians who, since the beginning of the republic, were winning the right to place men of their own rank in office and to make laws in their own assembly were all landowners, who alone belonged originally to the tribes. Excluded from the tribes, and consequently from the comitia tributa, were the vari-

Pp. 34, 75.

all the people and the council of the plebeians, — a distinction on which Mommsen lays great emphasis, — never was of practical importance.

III. The Hortensian law, 287 B.C.: "*The orders of the plebs shall be binding on all the Romans.*" Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 37; Gellius xv. 27. 4; cf. Gaius i. 2. 4.

Probably this law, in its original form, made unnecessary the consent of the senate to the resolution of the plebeian assembly of tribes.

Among the possible explanations of these laws, the one here offered seems to be most consistent with the known facts; cf. Botsford, *Composition of the Roman Assemblies.*

Appius Claudius Cæcus, 312 B.C.

ous classes of landless people: laborers for hire, tenants, artisans, and tradesmen. But in 312 B.C. Appius Claudius Cæcus as censor enrolled these inferior citizens in the various tribes for the double purpose of giving them full political rights and of compelling them to serve in the army; for the Second Samnite War was then at its crisis. It was at this time that he began the great military road from Rome to Capua and a splendid aqueduct, which supplied his city with abundance of fresh water. These magnificent works, as well as his political reforms, greatly benefited the industrial and commercial classes. At the close of the war, however, as the government no longer needed the military aid of the landless, the censor Fabius put them into the four city tribes, which he degraded by ordering them to vote last. Thus the possessors of land remained superior to them in honor and in privileges. In contrast with this lower class of citizens, with the inhabitants of the municipia, with the Latins, and with the Italian allies, the members of the country tribes were themselves practically aristocrats inferior only to the knights and the senatorial nobility.

Diodorus xx. 36; Livy ix. 29, 30, 33 f, 46.

P. 57.

The country plebs become an aristocracy.

Economic development, 509–264 B.C.

450, 268 B.C.

P. 83.

While the Romans were becoming masters of Italy and improving their laws and their constitution, they were also growing richer. About the time of the decemvirs they began to coin bronze and long afterward silver. The nobles reaped the profits of large tracts of the conquered land and acquired a great number of slaves. After the state and the richer citizens alike had long accustomed themselves to the miserly habit of hoarding their wealth, Appius Claudius Cæcus, the censor, set a generous example

A Denarius

(A silver coin struck soon after 268 B.C. Front, head of Roma; back, Castor and Pollux on horseback.)

of expending money on useful public works. Following him, the Romans improved the appearance of their city, especially by building many temples in the Greek style.

Lack of culture.

But in their pursuit of wealth and power they had as yet little thought of cultivating their minds; they possessed no literature, and with the exception of their temples, no art;

VENUS
(National Museum, Naples.

a few of them learned the Greek language, though for merely practical objects. Their slight advancement in culture during this period came chiefly through contact with the Greeks of southern Italy and of Sicily, from whom they borrowed manners and customs. Adopting some deities from old Hellas, they built a temple to the prophet-god

P. 28.

Apollo, to Aphrodite, goddess of love and beauty, whom they identified with their garden-goddess Venus, and still later to Æsculapius, god of healing. This Greek influence tended slightly to refine and to humanize the Romans, who were still a pious people with faith in their gods and in the ceremonies of their worship.

The Romans under state discipline.

Horace, *Odes*, iii. 6; cf. i. 12.

Though poor and ignorant, the earliest Romans were distinguished for patience and energy. "The sons of rustic warriors they, a manly breed, trained to turn the soil with Sabine hoe, and to cut and carry wood at a stern mother's bidding." Their virtue, the fruit of a simple life, increased in strength and in severity throughout the period. This growth was owing to the watch-care which the republican government exercised over the citizens. The magistrates had power to punish not only for crimes but for every offence against order, however slight, and even for immorality, including lazy or luxurious habits. While all officers enjoyed this authority, it was the especial duty of the censors to see that every citizen subjected himself to the severe discipline prescribed by the state. They could punish a man for negligence in cultivating his field or for spending too much on the funeral of a kinsman; they expelled from the senate Publius Cornelius Rufinus, a man of high rank, for having in his house ten pounds of silver plate, whereas the law permitted him only eight ounces.

275 B.C.

Frugality.

P. 60.

Some of the most eminent men of the age were content with the frugal life of the peasant. One of them, Manius Curius Dentatus, who prepared his own food in wooden dishes, insisted that seven jugera of land were enough for any citizen. "At that time there was little money; there were few slaves, seven jugera of land, poverty in families, funerals paid for by the state, and daughters without dowry; but illustrious consulates, wonderful dictatorships, and

Valerius Maximus, IV. iv. 11.

countless triumphs, — such is the picture of these old times ! "

The results of their education.

The aim of education in the family and in public life was to repress the freedom of the individual in the interest of the state, to make a nation of brave warriors and of dutiful citizens. The highest results of this stern training were reached in the Samnite Wars, — a period known thereafter as the golden age of virtue and of heroism. A citizen of this time was, in the highest degree, obedient to authority, pious, frugal, and generally honest. But though he was willing to sacrifice his life for the good of the state, he was equally ready to enrich himself at the expense of his neighbors; the wealthy did not hesitate to sell the poor into slavery for debt, till they were forbidden to do so by law. Their hard, stern souls knew neither generosity nor mercy. Severe toward the members of their family, cruel in the treatment of slaves, and in their business transactions shrewd and grasping, the Romans of the time, however admirable for their heroic virtues, were narrow, harsh, and unlovable. Greed was one of their strongest motives to conquest. Not for glory, — much less for the good of their neighbors, — did they extend their power over Italy; it was rather that more of the peasants might be supplied with farms and that the nobles might be given larger tracts of the public land and a greater number of places of honor and of profit to use and to enjoy.

Can they endure the temptations of wealth and power?

As long as they remained poor and under strict discipline, they were moral. In the following period they were to gain greater freedom from the control of their magistrates and, at the same time, power and wealth. These new conditions were to put their virtue and even their government to the severest test.

Sources

Reading.

The same as for the preceding chapter (p. 65) and in addition, Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 31 ff; Diodorus xx. 36 (for Appius Claudius Cæcus); extracts from the Laws of the Twelve Tables, Howe, *Studies in the Civil Law*, App. A; cf. Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. iv.

Modern Works

Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. II. ch. i; Taylor, *Constitutional and Political History of Rome*, chs. ii–v; How and Leigh, *History of Rome*, chs. v, vi, viii, ix, xii; Shuckburgh, *History of Rome*, chs. viii, xiii, xvi; Fowler, *City-State*, chs. iv, vii; **Ihne,** *Early Rome*, chs. x–xiv, xviii, xix (to 390 B.C.); *History of Rome*, bk. II. chs. i, ii, vii–xiii, xvii, xix; bk. III. chs. ii, iii, vii, xi, xviii; Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. II. chs. i–iii, viii, ix; Duruy, *History of Rome*, I. chs. vi, viii, ix, xii, xiii, xviii; **Nitzsch,** *Römische Republik*, i. pp. 45–130 (suggestive); Botsford, *Composition of the Roman Assemblies*; Muirhead, *Roman Law*, pts. i, ii; Morey, *Outlines of Roman Law*, periods i, ii.

THE EXPANSION OF THE ROMAN POWER

To the time of the Gracchi.

SCALE OF MILES

100 50 0 100 200 300 400

For Chapters V, VI.
For Italy see Page. I

- Roman Power in 264. B. C.
- Acquired 241-218 B. C.
- Acquired 201-133 B. C.
- Allies of Rome in 133 B. C.
- Carthaginian Posessions 264 B. C.

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East
30°
from
40°
Greenwich
50°
45°
40°
35°
30°
25°
20°
30°
40°
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
Danube R.
Sinope
PONTUS
THRACE
BITHYNIA
MINOR
Troy
Pydna
Cynoscephalae
Pergamum
ASIA
PROVINCE
OF ASIA
CAPPADOCIA
Taurus Mts.
CILICIA
KINGDOM OF THE
SELEUCIDAE
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
EUBOEA
Magnesia
Corinth
Sparta
LEAGUE
RHODES
CYPRUS
PHOENICIA
SYRIA
Tyre
PALESTINE
SEA
NEAN
ARABIA
Alexandria
Cyrene
Memphis
LIBYA
EGYPT
Nile R.
Thebes
Gulf of Arabia or Red Sea
G.W. Botsford, Del.

MESSANA
(Modern Messina.)

CHAPTER V

THE EXPANSION OF THE ROMAN POWER (264–133 B.C.)

SECOND PERIOD OF THE REPUBLIC — EXTERNAL HISTORY

"Now, now our ears you pierce
With clarions shrill, and trumpet's threatenings fierce,
Now flashing arms affright
Horses and riders scattering both in flight;
Now do I seem to hear
The shoutings of the mighty leaders near,
And see them strike and thrust
Begrimed with not unhonorable dust."

— HORACE, *Odes*, ii. 1.

THE Phœnicians, who were famous for their navigation and commerce, once occupied a narrow strip of land along the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea. With the instinct for trade natural to their race, they began early to explore the shores and the islands of the Mediterranean; and wherever convenient, they planted colonies as centres of traffic with the natives. One of the settlements, named Carthage, on the African coast opposite Sicily, had a remarkably favorable situation; for the country near it was exceedingly fertile, and it was conveniently located for

The Phœnicians.

Botsford, *Greece*, p. 3.

Carthage.

trade with the East and the West, and with Sicily and Italy. These advantages made Carthage wealthy and populous. Though the people of this city loved peace and preferred to devote their energies to trade, they were compelled to fight in order to maintain themselves against the warlike Greeks; unwillingly, therefore, they became a military and an imperial power. Gathering under their rule and protection the various Phœnician colonies of the Mediterranean, — along the northern and northwestern coasts of Africa, in western Sicily, in Sardinia, and even in Spain, — they created a great navy and a large army of mercenaries, with which they attempted, though in vain, to drive the Greeks from Sicily. While fighting against the Greeks they made a treaty with Rome, in 509 B.C.

Botsford, *Greece*, p. 137.

Rome and Carthage, 509–264 B.C.

P. 51.

348 B.C.

306 B.C.

About a century and a half later, the city on the Tiber, while contending against the invading Gauls and against unfaithful allies, renewed her treaty with Carthage, though she was then too weak to forbid her more prosperous neighbor from plundering Latium and central Italy. However, when near the close of the Second Samnite War Rome showed herself the strongest power in Italy, it seems probable that a third treaty was made between the two states, according to which Carthage was to keep away from Italy and Rome from Sicily. Evidently each state now regarded the other as a dangerous rival; hence this jealous effort to prevent a collision. As the invasion of Italy and of Sicily by Pyrrhus menaced both powers alike, they made a defensive alliance against him; but fear and jealousy prevented them from calling upon each other for help. When the great Epirot commander withdrew from Sicily, he is said to have exclaimed regretfully, "What a fair battle-field we are leaving to the Romans and the Carthaginians!" — thus intimating that the Greeks of Sicily had ceased to be mas-

Polybius iii. 25.

P. 61 f.

279 B.C.

ters of their fate, and that Rome and Carthage would soon contend for the possession of this fertile island. The Phœnician city had been checked by the great rulers of Syracuse, as Dionysius I, Timoleon, and Agathocles, but she was now gaining ground in Sicily; her conquest of the whole island was merely a question of time. From Syracuse and Messana, when taken, she would naturally pass over to Italy; indeed she had already threatened Rhegium and Tarentum. Rome, the protector of Italy, was nervously watching her rival's movements.

405–367 B.C. 345–337, 317–289 B.C. Botsford, *Greece*, pp. 241 ff, 247 f.

Character of the Carthaginians.

An Asiatic race, the Carthaginians had not the capacity of the Romans for self-government or the ability to govern others. Their political life was already corrupt; they ground their subject communities with oppressive taxes and gave them no hope of ever obtaining equality of rights. It was a government by capitalists and for capitalists maintained by bribery and force. Their religion, too, was inhuman and grossly immoral. Such being the case, it would have been unfortunate for any large part of Europe to fall permanently under their rule. By checking them in this direction, Rome was to do a good service to civilization.

Polybius i. 72.

Resources of Rome and Carthage compared.

Let us compare their resources. Though the governments of both were aristocratic, that of Rome was in its fullest vigor, while that of Carthage was beginning to decay. With her magnificent navy Carthage controlled the sea. Her wealth enabled her to enlist gigantic armies of mercenaries, who, however brave in battle, often proved treacherous; for they were attached to the city they served by no tie of blood or patriotism. On the other hand Rome had but a few small ships at her command. Her soldiers, however, though mere militia, were the hardiest and most stubborn fighters in the world, and still better, they were devoted to their country. In contrast with the oppressive

Polybius vi. 51 f.

Polybius i. 43, 67.

P. 50.

Pp. 63 f, 129, 133.

tyranny which Carthage exercised over her empire, Italy was a strongly centralized federation, resting on the basis of common blood, — a system in which each community administered its own affairs, but all acknowledged Rome absolute mistress of their military resources. Carthage was more formidable, but it was a question whether Rome could not endure the greater shock and the longer strain of war.

Immediate cause of the war.

The immediate cause of the first war between these two states was as follows. Some Campanian mercenaries, released from the service of Syracuse, planned to seize by treachery the fair and wealthy Messana. Admitted as guests into the city, they killed or drove away the men, and divided the women, children, and property among themselves. For a time the Mamertines — "sons of Mars" — as these robbers called themselves, enjoyed their ill-got homes; but threatened by both Greeks and Carthaginians, they appealed to Rome for aid on the ground of kindred blood. Although the senate felt it would be unjust to aid the Mamertines, it feared that if the Carthaginians should conquer them and gain control of all Sicily, they would not hesitate to lay hands on Italy. A less worthy motive to war was the desire of the senators to extend their power and with it their field for trade and speculation; for the commercial spirit of the Claudian family had already seized nearly the whole aristocracy. When, therefore, the senate referred the question to the people, Appius Claudius Caudex, one of the consuls, by promising them lands in Sicily, persuaded them to vote aid to the Mamertines. Appointed commander, he skilfully brought his army into Messana, though the Syracusans and the Carthaginians were besieging it by land and sea.

Polybius i. 7 ff.

Pp. 76, 90.

The First Punic War, 264–241 B.C.

The Romans soon drove the besiegers away, and induced Hiero, king of Syracuse, to make a treaty according to

which he was to supply the Roman armies in Sicily with provisions. The cities of the interior readily yielded, as they found greater security under Rome than either Syracuse or Carthage had given them. And when the Romans had taken Agrigentum from the Carthaginians, they began to entertain hopes of expelling their enemy altogether from the island. For this purpose it was necessary to build a fleet, as Carthage with her navy not only protected the maritime towns of Sicily but even ravaged the Italian coasts. Though the naval allies could furnish a few triremes, no one in Italy had yet attempted quinqueremes — vessels with five banks of oars — such as made up the strength of the enemy's navy. But using a stranded Carthaginian quinquereme as a model, the Romans, with their usual courage and energy, began to build a fleet. While some were busy with this work, others trained the crews by having them sit on benches along the shore and practise rowing in the sand. When they had completed their fleet, they put to sea and engaged the enemy off Mylæ, 260 B.C. Their ships were clumsy and they lacked skill in manœuvring; but they contrived to board the enemy's vessels by means of a drawbridge which each Roman ship carried at her prow. This machine they called a crow, from the iron spike in its extremity which grappled the enemy's deck. The naval tactics of the Carthaginians were of no avail; for as the hostile fleets neared one another, the drawbridges fell, the Romans boarded, and overcame their foes with sword and spear, as in a land fight. The great victory which they gained increased their fervor for war. On the return of Gaius Duilius, the commander, Rome gave him an enthusiastic welcome as her first naval hero, and provided that musicians and torch-bearers should accompany him in the evening as he returned home from dining out.

Polybius i. 11–64.

262 B.C.

Polybius i. 20 ff.

Battle of Mylæ, 260 B.C.

Livy (epitome) xvii.

The Romans invade Libya.

The Romans then conceived the idea of building an enormous fleet, with which they hoped to carry the war into Libya and make Carthage fear for her own safety. This great armament, consisting of three hundred and thirty vessels carrying nearly a hundred and forty thousand men, defeated a still larger fleet of the enemy off Ecnomus, and afterward conveyed an army to Africa. There, under the consul Regulus, they gained victories and captured towns, till Xanthippus, a Lacedæmonian, taught the Carthaginians to offer battle in the plain, where they could use their elephants and their great force of cavalry to advantage. The result was the destruction of the Roman army and the capture of Regulus. The elephants wrought such havoc that the Romans dared not face them again for several years. Meantime their ignorance of navigation lost them two large fleets and thousands of lives. Disheartened for a time, they were encouraged by a great victory at Panormus, in which Cæcilius Metellus captured thirteen officers and a hundred and twenty elephants. These huge beasts he exhibited in his triumph to the delight of the curious Romans.

Polybius i. 26 ff.

256 B.C.

Regulus.

Cf. p. 61.

250 B.C.

Mission of Regulus, 250 B.C.

The battle cost the enemy nearly all Sicily. Of the larger cities they held only Lilybæum, now besieged by the Romans, and Drepana, where Adherbal, their high admiral, was stationed. Under these circumstances the authorities at Carthage sent Regulus, who was still a prisoner, to Rome, to negotiate a peace, promising him liberty if he should succeed. He, however, urged the senate to persevere in the war; then —

Livy (epitome) xviii.

"From his chaste wife's embrace, they say,
And babes he tore himself away,
As he had forfeited the right
To clasp them as a freeman might;
Then sternly on the ground he bent
His manly brow; and so he lent

Horace, *Odes*, iii. 5.

Mount Ercte

Decision to the senate's voice,
That paused and wavered in its choice,
And forth the noble exile strode,
Whilst friends in anguish lined the road."

Returning to Carthage in accordance with his oath, he is said to have suffered death by torture; but in fact no one knows how he died.

Defeat at Drepana, 249 B.C.

Next year the consul Publius Claudius sailed from Lilybæum to Drepana to surprise Adherbal. But the admiral, far from being caught napping, met the enemy and inflicted upon him an overwhelming defeat. The Romans tried to account for this disaster by a story that when Claudius was planning the attack, he received word that the sacred chickens would not eat, — an omen which signified that the gods forbade the enterprise. Haughtily exclaiming that if the fowls would not eat, at least they would have to drink, he threw them into the sea. His impiety together with his lack of skill is given as the cause of this great misfortune.

Polybius i. 49–52; Livy (epitome) xix.

Hamilcar Barca, 247 B.C.

While the Romans were besieging Lilybæum, Carthage sent out a general who was to prove, in himself and in his sons, the most dangerous enemy Rome ever met. This was Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, — the "Lightning," — a man of extraordinary genius for war. He occupied Mount Ercte, above Panormus, which was then held by a Roman army. Viewed from the city, this mountain seems a gigantic rock, barren and steep, whose summit can be reached with the greatest difficulty by means of an abrupt gorge. Higher up, however, the traveller finds broad, grassy basins, in one of which is a spring of fresh water. Here Hamilcar fed cattle and raised corn to support the handful of troops, who performed wonders under the spell of his genius. From the little harbor beneath him his light ships harassed the Italian coasts, while from the eagle's perch above he used to

Polybius i. 56.

swoop down, rapid as the lightning, upon the Romans in the neighborhood, and as easily retire to the nest which no enemy dared explore.

Exhaustion of the two nations.

After maintaining himself for three years in this position, he suddenly abandoned it for a post on the side of Mount Eryx. Though his new place was more difficult to hold, it afforded him an opportunity to coöperate with his friends in the neighboring city of Drepana. But with his small force he could accomplish little; and on the other hand, the Romans failed to dislodge him. "The two nations engaged were like two well-bred game-cocks which fight to their last gasp. You may see them often, when too weak to use their wings, yet full of pluck to the end, and striking again and again. Finally chance brings them the opportunity of once more grappling, and they hold on till one or the other of them drops dead."

Polybius i. 58.

The last battle.

Neither nation had any longer the means of supporting a fleet or a strong army in service. Rome had so debased her currency that it was nearly worthless; her treasury was empty; and she was on the verge of bankruptcy. While Hamilcar stood in the way of her gaining control of Sicily by means of her land force, want of war ships made her powerless on the sea. Under these circumstances "the wealthier citizens undertook singly or in companies of two or three to supply a quinquereme on the understanding that they should be repaid, if the expedition proved a success." With two hundred vessels thus built, the consul Gaius Lutatius Catulus, at the Ægatian islands, intercepted a new Carthaginian fleet bringing supplies to Sicily, and totally defeated it.

Polybius i. 59.

Ægatian islands, 241 B.C.

The terms of peace, 241 B.C.

As the Carthaginians had no longer any means of carrying on the war, they gave Hamilcar full power to make peace, provided he thought best to do so. "Nor was their confi-

dence misplaced. He acted the part of a gallant general and a sensible man. As long as there was any reasonable hope of success in the business he had in hand, nothing was too dangerous for him to attempt; and if any general ever did so, he put every chance of victory to the fullest proof. But when all his endeavors miscarried, and no reasonable expectation was left of saving his troops, he yielded to the inevitable, and sent ambassadors to treat of peace and terms of accommodation. And in this he showed great good sense and practical ability; for it is quite as much the duty of a leader to be able to see when it is time to give in, as when it is time to win a victory. Lutatius was ready enough to listen to the proposal, because he was fully aware that the resources of Rome were at their lowest ebb from the strain of the war; and eventually it was his fortune to end the contest by a treaty," the terms of which, in their final form, were as follows. There shall be friendship between Carthage and Rome, provided the Carthaginians evacuate Sicily, pay the Romans thirty-two hundred talents of silver — over three and a half millions of dollars — within ten years, and give up all prisoners without ransom. Thus after continuing twenty-three years, the First Punic War came to an end in 241 B.C. Some years later Sicily became a Roman province, — that is, a subject country ruled by a Roman magistrate.

Polybius i.62.

P. 130.

The Mercenary War, 241–237 B.C.

After the war, as Carthage had no means of paying her mercenaries, they mutinied and were joined by the Libyans, who revolted against their harsh task-masters. A struggle, known as the Mercenary War, ensued, carried on by both parties with ferocious cruelty. Far from granting quarter, they tortured their prisoners to death, crucified them, or threw them to the elephants to be trampled upon. After four years of pitiless strife, Hamilcar destroyed the merce-

Polybius i. 65–88.

naries and reduced the insurgents. While his city was still in the peril of this war, the Romans treacherously seized Sardinia; and when Carthage remonstrated, they imposed, in addition, a heavy fine. Sardinia together with Corsica became the second Roman province.

Hamilcar in Spain, 237–229 B.C.

Hamilcar's soul burned with hatred of the city which, by force and fraud, had robbed his fatherland of its naval supremacy and its fairest provinces. To him the existing peace was to be a preparation for war which in turn should make Rome feel the terrors of invasion. As he saw all Libya bereft of resources and perceived the weakness of the mercenary system, he planned to create in Spain a province which should supply not only troops but all other means of waging a more successful war. The story is told that when he was about to set out for Spain, he led his son Hannibal, then a boy of nine years, to the altar and made him swear undying enmity to Rome.

Polybius ii. 1; iii. 10; Livy xxi. 1 f; Appian, *Foreign Wars*, vi. 5.

Polybius iii. 11; Livy xxi. 1.

Carthaginian province in Spain.

In Spain he occupied nine years in forming a Carthaginian province more by diplomacy than by war; he taught the native tribes to live together in peace under his rule and to develop the resources of their country. While he was engaged in this work, his skill and his money created a new political party at Carthage, — a vigorous democracy, which opposed the peace-loving capitalists and supported its leader in his far-reaching plans for war. "Then he died in a manner worthy of his great achievements; for he lost his life in a battle in which he showed a conspicuous and even reckless bravery. As his successor, the Carthaginians appointed his son-in-law Hasdrubal, who at the time commanded the fleet."

Polybius ii. 1.

Hannibal.

Hasdrubal continued the wise policy of his predecessor with "wonderful skill in gaining over the tribes and in adding them to his empire." When after eight years of such

229–221 B.C.

service he was murdered by a Celt, the soldiers with loud enthusiasm carried Hannibal to the general's tent and proclaimed him commander. As they looked upon this young man, "the veterans imagined that Hamilcar in his youth was restored to them; they noticed the same vigor in his frame, the same animation in his eyes, the same features and expression of the face. . . . His courage in meeting dangers and his prudence in the midst of them were extreme. Toil could neither exhaust his body nor subdue his mind, and he could endure hunger and cold alike. He ate and drank no more than nature demanded. Working day and night, he thought of sleep only when there was nothing else to do; then wrapping himself in his military cloak, he would lie on the ground among the watches and the outposts of the army. Though he dressed as a plain officer, his arms and his horses were splendid."

Polybius ii. 36; Livy xxi. 2.

Livy xxi. 4.

The Second Punic War, 218–201 B.C.

When Hannibal felt himself prepared, he attacked Saguntum, a city of Spain in alliance with Rome, and took it after a siege of eight months. This act gave the Romans a pretext for war. But while they were preparing to invade both Spain and Libya, with the idea of merely extending the operations of the preceding war, Hannibal, with a well-trained army of fifty thousand infantry, nine thousand cavalry, and a number of elephants, crossed the Pyrenees and marched rapidly through Gaul. Recently the Romans had conquered the Celts of northern Italy. As this whole nation was indignant with Rome on account of injuries received, they eagerly supported Hannibal in his march through their country. It was not till the crossing of the Rhone that he met with opposition from the natives. When, however, he began the ascent of the Alps, the real difficulties of his journey appeared; for the way was narrow and rough, and the mountaineers attacked him. From the higher ground,

Polybius iii. 20 ff; Livy xxi–xxx; Appian, *Foreign Wars*, vii, viii.

Pp. 126, 140.

Livy xxi. 20.

Hannibal crosses the Alps.

Livy xxi. 32–35.

which secured their own safety, they rolled stones and hurled missiles upon the troops and upon the long train of pack animals. Many soldiers fell and many beasts of burden were either disabled or lost, so that the army suffered for want of provisions. At length with great toil and peril

"HANNIBAL"
(National Museum, Naples.)

Hannibal reached the summit, where he rested his men and cheered them with some such words as these: "Here on the summit of the Alps, we hold the citadel of Italy; below us on the south are our friends, the Gauls, who will supply us with provisions from their bountiful lands and will help us against their deadly foes; and yonder in the distance lies Rome!"

The descent was still more difficult and dangerous; for the southern slope is steeper, so that, in snow and ice, the men and the beasts often lost their foothold. When he reached the plain, he had less than half the army with which he had set out, five months before, from Spain. And those who survived were sick and feeble, — worn out with fatigue, hunger, and exposure to cold; their arms were battered, their horses lame, their clothes in tatters; they seemed more like savages than well-disciplined troops. With such forces he had come to attack a nation which numbered seven hundred thousand men of military age. And yet it was to be no one-sided contest. An army of trained soldiers, full of the spirit of their great commander, opposed a mere militia. A born genius for war, Hannibal had served an apprenticeship under his illustrious father and had been a pupil of his own veterans. As general he had subdued fierce tribes of Spaniards and of Gauls and had overcome the Alps themselves. Compared with him, though he was still young, the Scipios and the Fabii were tyros.

Hannibal invades Italy, 218 B.C.

Polybius iii. 56; Livy xxi. 40.

The appearance of Hannibal in the valley of the Po rudely awakened the Romans from their dream of conquest. They suddenly realized that the war was to be waged for the defence of their homes and their country. In a light cavalry battle on the Ticinus, a tributary of the Po, Hannibal so easily routed the consul Scipio that none could henceforth doubt the superiority of the Carthaginian horsemen. The consul immediately withdrew to the south bank of the Po, and sought the protection of the hills near the Trebia River. Here his colleague, Tiberius Sempronius, with another army, joined him and took chief command; for Scipio had been wounded in the battle.

Battle on the Ticinus, 218 B.C.

Polybius iii. 64 f; Livy xxi. 45 f.

One wintry morning in December, when the snow fell and the wind blew cold and damp from the river and the

Battle on the Trebia, 218 B.C.

marshes, Hannibal, after giving his men a good breakfast and plenty of oil for their bodies, sent out a band of cavalry to tempt the enemy across the river. Sempronius, who was eager for battle, that he might win for himself the glory of victory, readily led his army out before breakfast through the swollen Trebia. Hungry and numbed with cold, the Romans were doomed to defeat. The Carthaginian horse routed their wings, while Hannibal's brother Mago, a young man "full of youthful enthusiasm and trained from boyhood in the art of war," assailed them from an ambush in the rear. The struggle, though long, ended in the complete overthrow of the Romans. Ten thousand of their best infantry fought their way through the enemy and escaped. Nearly all the rest were killed or captured, and Hannibal held their camp. This great success led the Gauls, who had hitherto wavered, to cast their lot with the victor.

Polybius iii. 66–74; Livy xxi. 47–56.

Polybius iii. 71.

Excitement at Rome.

News of the misfortune depressed Rome. Throughout the winter superstitious fear so disturbed the citizens that they were ready to believe every idle myth they chanced to hear,—"that in the vegetable market, an ox had climbed to the third story of a house and had leaped thence to the ground, that ships were seen in the sky, . . . that the spear at Lanuvium had shaken itself, that a crow had flown into the temple of Juno and had alighted on her couch, . . . that it had rained stones in Picenum." Still more wonderful prodigies were excited by the fact that one of the consuls-elect, Gaius Flaminius, a great favorite of the people and an enemy of the senate, had gone to his command at Arretium, in Etruria, without taking the auspices. Servilius, the patrician consul, with the help of the senate, provided sacrifices and festivals for appeasing the angry gods ; after which he set out to his own command in Ariminum. Thus the consuls lay, each with his army,

Livy xxi. 62.

P. 140.

P. 29.

guarding the two principal roads which connected the Po valley with central Italy.

Hannibal in the marshes.

But Hannibal surprised them by taking an unusual route over the Apennines far to the west. In crossing the marshes north of the Arnus River his troops underwent most terrible hardships. "All suffered grievously, especially because they could not get sleep on a continuous march of four days and three nights through a route which was under water. . . . Most of his pack animals, slipping in the mud, fell and perished, and could then do the men one service only, — they sat upon the dead bodies, and piling baggage upon them so as to stand out of water, they managed to get a snatch of sleep for a short portion of the night."

Polybius iii. 79.

Battle of Lake Trasimene, 217 B.C.

When Hannibal reached dry ground in Etruria and found Flaminius still guarding Arretium, he passed the enemy without deigning to notice him, and took the highway for Rome, plundering as he went. Flaminius could but follow; for he felt it his duty to protect the fields of the allies, and he knew he must gain a victory to save the political party he represented, in its conflict with the senate. Unwarily he fell into a trap at Lake Trasimene, where he was killed and his army annihilated. When news of this calamity reached Rome, and the prætor announced to the people, — "We have been beaten in a great battle," the Romans, long unused to misfortune, gave way to unmanly grief and alarm. With the advice of the senate, however, they *elected* Quintus Fabius Maximus dictator; for the surviving consul was too far away to make the appointment, according to custom.

Polybius iii. 80–85; Livy xxii. 3–7.

Fabius the Cunctator — "Delayer."

Hannibal and Fabius, 217 B.C.

Meantime Hannibal, instead of attacking Rome, crossed the peninsula to the Adriatic coast and moved gradually southward, gathering vast booty from the country through which he passed. His men refreshed themselves with good

food, bathed their horses in old wine, and prepared to meet the next Roman army which should come against them. But instead of risking a battle, Fabius dogged the footsteps of the invader, cut off foraging parties, and trained his own men to face the enemy in small encounters. As this policy did not hinder the Carthaginians from marching and plundering wherever they pleased, it proved extremely unpopular and subjected the dictator to the severest criticism. Yet his persistence in avoiding battle, though it wrecked the office of dictator, saved Rome for the year from another defeat.

P. 158, n. 1.

The battle of Cannæ, 216 B.C.

Unusual efforts were made to levy and train troops for the following summer. The new consuls, Æmilius and Varro, led a force of more than eighty thousand men, including allies, against Hannibal. This was the largest single army Rome had ever put into the field, while the force of the enemy numbered about fifty thousand. The two armies met at Cannæ on the Aufidus river in Apulia. Varro, who held chief command on the day of battle, massed his maniples in a heavy line, in the hope of overcoming by sheer weight. While the superior cavalry of the enemy routed his wings, his centre, a solid phalanx, drove in the opposing Iberians and Celts; but then found itself assailed on all sides,—Gauls and Iberians in front, with a violent wind driving clouds of dust in the face, veteran Libyans on both flanks, and in the rear a tempest of cavalry. Too crowded to keep rank or even to use their weapons, the Romans fell like sheep under the knives of butchers. Seven-eighths of their army, including Æmilius, eighty senators, and many other eminent men, perished. Varro, who survived, collected at Venusia the remnants of the army, amounting to scarcely ten thousand men.

Polybius iii. 107 ff; Livy xxii. 34 ff.

Pp. 46, 68.

P. 141.

Character of the Romans.

Intelligence of this overwhelming defeat brought intense agony to Rome. Every household mourned its dead, while

all feared for the city and for their own lives. "In spite of all, the senate left no means untried to save the state. It exhorted the people to fresh exertions, strengthened the city with guards, and deliberated on the crisis in a brave and manly spirit. And subsequent events made this manifest. For though the Romans were decisively beaten in the field, and had lost reputation for military prowess, the peculiar excellence of their political constitution and the prudence of their counsels regained for them the supremacy over Italy."

Polybius. iii. 118.

On the evening after the battle, so Livy reports, Maharbal, leader of the Carthaginian horsemen, advised his commander, "Send me in advance with the cavalry, follow with the army, and five days hence we shall dine in Rome!" Hannibal knew, however, that with his present forces he could take Rome neither by storm nor by siege; but through the revolt of the allies he hoped to undermine the defences of the capital.

"Let us on to Rome!" Livy xxii. 51.

With the battle of Cannæ the character of the war changed. Nearly all the allies of Rome in southern Italy, including the great cities of Capua and Tarentum, revolted. On the death of Hiero, king of Syracuse, Sicily also forsook Rome. Philip V, king of Macedonia, who watched jealously the interference of the senate in the Greek peninsula, allied himself with the victorious Carthaginian. Though none of these allies gave material help, Hannibal felt himself bound to protect his Italian friends. The policy of defence to which he was thus forced, gradually wasted his army, robbed him of the prestige of success, and in the end caused his failure. The greatest of all obstacles in his way were the fortified Latin colonies distributed over Italy, which continued faithful to Rome. These strongholds he was unable to take. On the other side, the Romans henceforth

Changed character of the war.

215 B.C.

P. 121, n. 2.

P. 63.

divided their levy into several small armies for defending their remaining allies and for attacking the enemy at weak points. Their defeat in three great battles taught them to follow the policy of Fabius, the "Shield of Rome"; hence there were no more pitched battles with Hannibal in Italy.

"MARCELLUS"
(Capitoline Museum, Rome.)

The siege of Syracuse and of Capua.

The Romans made great efforts to regain Sicily. Marcellus, the "Sword of Rome," besieged Syracuse by land and sea. For a long time the engines of Archimedes, the famous mathematician, baffled him; "so true is it that one man and one intellect properly qualified for a particular undertaking is a host in itself." At last they took the city, plundered it, and killed many of the people, including Archimedes, whom some soldiers found busy with his diagrams. Next Capua was surrounded by three Roman armies, which Hannibal tried in vain to drive away. In the hope of diverting at least a part of the force, so as to relieve the besieged allies, he suddenly marched upon Rome and pitched his camp

Polybius viii. 9.

212 B.C.

211 B.C.

three miles from the city. The inhabitants imagined that their terrible enemy had destroyed the armies at Capua and would soon hold the citadel of Rome. But while the women in terror implored the gods for help and "swept with their hair the pavements of the temples," new recruits, pouring in from the country, manned the walls. As Rome defended herself without relaxing the siege of Capua, Hannibal gave up hope of saving this city. When it fell, the Romans scourged and beheaded the senators, and dispersed the people among the Latin colonies or sold them into slavery, — a warning to all who meditated revolt. Tarentum was afterward taken and suffered a similar punishment.

Polybius ix. 6

Hannibal still inspired terror; he still gained successes, though the Romans dared not offer open battle. Marcellus allowed himself to be surprised and killed; Fabius, now old, was Rome's chief commander in Italy.

Hannibal still terrible.

Meantime important events were happening in Spain. For years Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal who had been left in command of that country, proved inferior to the Romans under the brothers Publius and Gnæus Scipio. At length, however, with reënforcements from Carthage, he overwhelmed and destroyed the separate armies of these two generals, who died bravely with their men. The victor was in a fair way to win all Spain back to Carthage when the Romans sent thither as proconsul Publius Scipio, son of the deceased general of the same name. The new commander was a young man still in his twenties. In addition to military genius, he had a gifted mind and an attractive personality; in a state based upon average intellect, he was dangerously original; his contempt for the formalities of law was Greek rather than Roman. Soon after his arrival he surprised and captured New Carthage, the chief city and

The Scipios in Spain. 218–212 B.C.

211 B.C.

Livy xxvi. 18 ff.

P. 142 f.

210 B.C.

arsenal of the enemy in Spain. Hasdrubal, however, skilfully eluded him, and with a large army and abundant treasures, set out by land for Italy to reënforce his brother.

The battle on the Metaurus, 207 B.C.

The crisis of the war came in 207 B.C., when Hasdrubal, descending from the Alps and drawing in his train a host of Gauls and Ligurians, marched southward to meet Hannibal. If the two great enemies of Rome should unite, she could no longer hope for victory; for her country was desolate from end to end; her best generals had perished; her faithful colonies, exhausted by war, were beginning to refuse aid; her last armies were in the field. Fortunately for her the messengers who bore to Hannibal the news of his brother's coming were taken by the consul Gaius Claudius Nero, commander of the army in southern Italy, opposed to Hannibal. Stealthily hurrying to the north, Claudius united his army with that of his colleague, Marcus Livius Salinator; and the two consuls surprised and destroyed Hasdrubal with his army on the Metaurus River. As Claudius returned southward he carried with him the head of the defeated Carthaginian, which he directed to be thrown into the camp of Hannibal, — to inform him of his misfortune. In the ghastly features of his brother, Hannibal read his own fate and the doom of his city.

Polybius ix. 1–3; Livy xxvii. 39–51.

Publius Scipio reconquers Spain, 208–206 B.C.

After this battle, while Hannibal still maintained himself in southern Italy, Publius Scipio reconquered Spain. The story of this campaign abounds in the romantic adventures and the chivalrous acts of the commander, — the first Roman whom we may admire both for the kindness and generosity of his character and for the brilliancy of his mind.

Livy xxviii. 1 ff.

The battle of Zama, 202 B.C.

Master of Spain, he returned to Rome, whence as consul he invaded Africa and threatened Carthage. Hannibal quitted Italy in obedience to his country's call; and add-

ing raw recruits to his small veteran force, he met Scipio at some distance from Zama, a town nearly south of Carthage. Here was fought the last battle of the long war. By a happy inspiration, Scipio placed the maniples of the second and third divisions behind those of the first, thus forming columns with open lanes between, through which the enemy's elephants could make their way without disturbing the ranks. He was favored, too, by the fact that the Numidians, now his allies, furnished him with cavalry superior to that of Carthage. For the first time Hannibal suffered defeat in a pitched battle, — a defeat which made further resistance hopeless.

Polybius xv. 1–16; Livy xxx. 29–36; Appian, *Foreign Wars*, viii. 31–48.

By the terms of treaty which followed, Carthage agreed to surrender Spain, and to pay Rome two hundred talents of silver a year for fifty years; to give up all her elephants and all her war-ships except ten triremes; to wage no war outside of Libya and in Libya none without the consent of Rome. With sorrow the Queen of the Waters saw her great fleet sink in flames. Even more galling was the clause of the treaty which forbade her waging war in Libya; for it left her helpless against Rome's ally, Masinissa, king of Numidia, who plundered Carthaginian territory to the extent of his pleasure. Such was Rome's policy toward a fallen enemy.

The terms of peace, 201 B.C.

Polybius xv. 18; Livy xxx. 37.

The long war between Carthage and Rome for the control of Europe and Africa was ended; and while the conqueror of Hannibal journeyed in triumph from Rhegium to the capital, the Italians hailed him as their saviour. Rome named him Africanus after the continent he had subdued. But neither the conqueror nor the victory promised political quiet or external peace: the battle at Zama foretold the progress of victorious Roman legions through the whole circle of Mediterranean countries; in Scipio Africanus the

This war the beginning of conquests.

P. 143.

historian sees the first of a succession of brilliant generals, who, while subduing the world, overthrew the government of the republic.

Condition of the East, about 200 B.C.

When, after the Second Punic War, Rome began seriously to interfere in the affairs of Greece, there were in the East three great kingdoms, remnants of Alexander's empire: first, that of the Seleucidæ, in western Asia, including a part of Asia Minor; second, Macedonia, which through garrisons controlled Thessaly, Corinth, and various other states of Greece; and third, Egypt, whose kings claimed Phœnicia and a few possessions in Asia Minor and in Thrace. In addition to the great powers, there were two Grecian leagues, — the Ætolian and the Achæan, — and many lesser independent states, as the republic of Rhodes, brilliant in commerce and in art, and the kingdoms of Pergamum, Bithynia, and Pontus. In the tangled international relations we find this guiding thread: in self-defence Egypt sought peace; the smaller states, especially those engaged in commerce, as Rhodes and Athens, following the same policy, looked to Egypt for support; on the other hand, Antiochus III, the Seleucid, and Philip V of Macedonia, ambitious sovereigns, tried to extend their power. Rome, allied to Egypt and hostile to Philip V because of his treaty with Hannibal, was to appear in Greece as a protector of peace and of freedom against the Macedonian despot.

Cf. pp. 111, 121, n. 2.

Holm, *Greece*, iv. p. 290 ff.

P. 65.

First Macedonian War, 215–205 B.C.

Polybius vii. 9; Livy xxiii. 33 f.

The first conflict between Rome and Macedonia, which fell within the Second Punic War, though marked by no important battles, brought Rome into alliance with Ætolia, Athens, Pergamum, and other Eastern states, and thus prepared the way for future complications.

The Second Macedonian War, 200–196 B.C.

No sooner was the Roman senate free from the struggle with Carthage than it forced upon the people a second war with Philip in behalf of the allies whom he was assailing.

The first army sent to Greece accomplished little, as it was made up of volunteers who had enlisted for plunder rather than for war. Later the young but able consul Flamininus, led against Philip a strong army of twenty-five thousand men, composed of Italians and Greek allies. Though Philip had about the same number, most of his troops were boys. The eyes of the world followed the movements of the Roman legion and the Macedonian phalanx, for again, as

Polybius xvi. 24–xviii. 39; Livy xxxi. 1–xxxiii. 30.

A Scene in Macedonia

in the time of Pyrrhus, these two most efficient military systems of the ancients came into conflict. The phalanx was a solid body of bronze-clad warriors bristling with long pikes; on level ground it was unconquerable, but among the hills it could be easily broken. The legion, on the contrary, was light and flexible, developed especially with a view to fighting the mountaineers of central Italy. At Cynoscephalæ — "Dogs' Heads" — a low range of hills in Thessaly, the armies met, and after a sharp struggle the legion was victorious. The success of Rome was due to her

Botsford, *Greece*, p. 326.

The battle of Cynoscephalæ, 197 B.C.

military organization, to the poor quality of the opposing troops, and above all, to the superior Ætolian cavalry in her service.

Terms of peace, 196 B.C.

The vanquished king was compelled to cede his various Greek possessions to the victor. But as the commons of Rome were still opposed to aggression in the East, as Antiochus III threatened, and as any attempt to introduce garrisons into Greek towns would have created a storm of opposition, Rome decided to be magnanimous. Accordingly at the Isthmian festival of the following spring, by the direction of Flamininus and his colleagues, who were peace commissioners, a herald proclaimed to the assembly the freedom of all the Greeks who had been ruled by Philip. "After the games were over, in the extravagance of their joy, they nearly killed Flamininus by the exhibition of their gratitude. Some wanted to look him in the face and call him their preserver; others were eager to touch his hand. Most threw garlands and fillets upon him; and among them they nearly crushed him to death." Though Flamininus wished well for Greece, his gift of freedom was a fair delusion. The Greeks were still capable of gratitude, of noble impulses, and of high aspirations, but they could not keep peace among themselves, — the only guarantee of their liberty. Under these circumstances their gratitude to Rome and Rome's protectorate of their freedom were to prove the double bond of their slavery.

The freedom of Greece.

Polybius xviii. 46.

The Asiatic War, 192–189 B.C.

Livy xxxiii. 44–xxxviii. 38.

Fearing Roman aggression, Antiochus III invaded Greece and, in his turn, played the game of freeing that country. He had been encouraged to war by Hannibal, whom the Roman senate had forced into exile, and who was now at the court of the Seleucid king. Had the great Carthaginian been given the direction of affairs, he might again have invaded Italy to wage a new war by means of the boundless

resources of the East. But jealousy and littleness of mind prevented Antiochus from undertaking so magnificent a scheme. Driven from Europe, the king suffered an overwhelming defeat at Magnesia, in Asia Minor, at the hands 190 B.C.

A Galatian and his Wife

(Museum of the Piombino Palace, Rome.)

of Lucius Scipio, brother of Africanus. As a result of this unsuccessful war, he gave up all his possessions west of Mount Taurus. Although Rome bestowed a part of the ceded territory upon Pergamum and another part upon Rhodes, leaving several small states independent and keep-

ing nothing for herself, she extended her protectorate over all Asia Minor. Hannibal fled to Bithynia, where he died by poison to escape the Romans. Antiochus was stoned to death by his own people; and his great empire rapidly dwindled to the petty kingdom of Syria.

Roman policy toward Greece.

Meantime through envoys, the states of Greece constantly accused one another before the Roman senate, and constantly invited that body to settle their quarrels. Accordingly we find one senatorial commission after another coming to Greece to arbitrate disputes and to look after the interests of the republic. Their respect for Greek culture, however, did not prevent them from fostering disunion, — from undermining the Achæan League. To rid themselves of a troublesome Hellenic patriot, these "lovers of Greece" sometimes resorted even to assassination.

Perseus of Macedonia, 179 B.C.

Such was the state of affairs when Philip died and was succeeded by his son Perseus. More amiable though less able than his father, he cherished the noble ambition of championing Hellas against barbarian Rome. "Penny wise and pound foolish, strong in preparation, weak in action, he was incapable of wise daring and generous expenditure. He lacked that rapid decision and unfaltering resolve that could alone have borne his enterprise to success." His clever diplomacy and the national aspirations of the Greeks, who once more strove for unity and freedom, were rapidly bringing them into touch with Macedonia, when Rome, to prevent this dreaded combination, declared war against Perseus, 171 B.C.

How and Leigh, *Rome*, p. 275.

The Third Macedonian War, 171–167 B.C.

As it was now well known that service in the East enriched the troops with booty, there was no lack of recruits for the war. During the first three years, the generals of the republic, instead of fighting Perseus, plundered Greece. Their incompetence and greed alienated allies and encour-

aged the enemy, till Rome felt compelled to put in command a man of character and ability, Lucius Æmilius Paulus.[1] Historians lay stress on his honesty, — a virtue which was growing rare among the public men of the time. He had a broad, generous sympathy, which won the esteem even of foreigners; and though upward of sixty, he was still vigorous. He met and conquered Perseus at Pydna, a city of Macedonia. "Æmilius had never seen a phalanx till he saw it in the army of Perseus on this occasion; and he often admitted to his friends at Rome afterward that he had never beheld anything more alarming and terrible; and yet he, as often as any man, had been not only a spectator but an actor in many battles." The king escaped, but was taken later, and after following, with his young children, in the triumphal procession of the conqueror, he died in prison either by his own hand or by the cruelty of the jailer. At the close of the war the Romans imposed an annual tribute on the Illyrians for having aided Perseus.[2] Macedonia they divided into four republics, which they prohibited from all intercourse with one another. Thus a great state perished. The cities yielded to the victor shiploads of furniture, precious metals, and works of art. In addition, the troops plundered Epirus for having sided with the king; they carried thence vast spoil and a hundred and fifty thousand

Livy xlii. 51–xlv. 18; Plutarch, *Æmilius*, 7 ff.

The battle of Pydna, 168 B.C.

Polybius xxix. 17.

[1] Son of Æmilius who died at Cannæ, p. 110.

[2] Trouble with the Illyrians began long before. In 229–228 B.C. Rome punished them for piracy, and compelled them to keep their hands off Corcyra and Epidamnus. Rome's treaties with these two Hellenic states were her first diplomatic dealings with Greece. In 219 B.C. she waged a second war with the Illyrians in behalf of her Greek allies, who were already increasing in number. But it was not till this piratical nation had cast its lot with Perseus that the Romans determined to annex it, and even then — 167 B.C. — they did not organize it as a province; p. 127, n. 1.

inhabitants, who were sold into slavery. Nevertheless they grumbled at their commander for allowing them so little.

The senate all-powerful.

The senate now sat on the pinnacle of power and glory. The rulers of the nations sent their humble respects to its majesty, and begged permission to make a pilgrimage to Rome; the king of Bithynia, in the guise of a freedman, hailed its members as his guardian gods. The senate of this age was the ablest of ancient councils. A degree of justice and liberality strengthened its inborn political cleverness. For at the close of a successful war two classes of states and of persons received its favors, — first the faithful, whatever their condition, and second, the strong, whatever their character and conduct, while it wreaked merciless vengeance upon those who were at once erring and weak. Its policy, too, of isolating or of dividing the strong and of sowing discord among possible enemies tended in the end to peace and order. But power and wealth corrupted it. With each success it grew more grasping and more arrogant; and among all the senators there was no wise man to utter the warning, "Pride goeth before destruction."

Polybius xxx. 19.

Political slavery of Greece.

For Greece there was to be no more freedom. In all the chief states, the commission for the settlement of Macedonia received complaints from the Romanizing party against those who sympathized with Perseus; and the accused were sent to Rome for trial. A thousand from the Achæan League alone, including Polybius, the statesman and historian, were thus carried into captivity. Far from being given a trial, however, they were detained sixteen years among the towns of Etruria. The influence of Polybius procured the release of the three hundred who then remained. "It is only a question," said Cato, "whether a few decrepit Greeks shall be buried by our grave-diggers or by those of their own country."

150 B.C.

Plutarch, *M. Cato*, 9.

The destruction of Corinth, 146 B.C.

Polybius xxxix. 8–17; Pausanias vii. 11–16.

The renewed quarrels of the Greeks, the bitterness which the returning exiles excited against Rome, and an outbreak in Macedonia led the senate once more to interfere. Metellus made a province of Macedonia. Mummius defeated the Achæan army. He then entered Corinth, the chief offender, and according to the laws of war which prevail among barbarians, killed most of the men he found and enslaved the women and children. After removing everything of value, he burned the city to the ground. As Corinth, stripped of her wealth and her art, sank into ruin, the Greeks at length realized that while they still retained the form of liberty, the Roman senate was their master. It ruled them indirectly, through partisan aristocracies in the towns and through the governor of Macedonia. Politically the Greeks were dead; their dissensions had ruined them. If the Romans should govern them well, they would thereby justify the conquest.

Botsford, *Greece*, p. 327.

Third Punic War, 149–146 B.C.

Polybius xxxii. 2; xxxvi. 2 ff; Appian, *Foreign Wars*, viii. 67–132. P. 115.

In the same year the Romans destroyed Carthage. For the beginning of the trouble which led to this event we must go back to the close of the Second Punic War. The treaty with Hannibal had forbidden Carthage, without the consent of Rome, to defend herself against attack. Taking advantage of this condition, Masinissa, king of Numidia, an ally of Rome, continually plundered the territory of Carthage and seized some of her best lands. In answer to her complaints Rome sent out various commissioners, who in every case were instructed to give secret encouragement to the plunderer. As a member of such a commission, Cato, a narrow-minded statesman, of whom we shall hear more, brought home a startling report of the wealth and prosperity of Carthage. In his opinion, the city of Hannibal still menaced Rome. Indeed he is said to have ended every speech in the senate, whatever the subject, with the words,

P. 143.

"Carthage must be destroyed!" He easily convinced the capitalists, who wished for a monopoly of the world's commerce, and who formed a majority of the senate. Accordingly the consuls sailed for Utica with an immense army. To avoid war the Carthaginians were ready for every concession. First they handed over three hundred children as hostages. The mothers, who gave them up, "clung to the little ones with frantic cries and seized hold of the ships and of the officers who were taking them away." "If you sincerely desire peace," said the consuls on their arrival at Utica, "why do you need arms? surrender them." After vain protests the people gave up their armor, enough for two hundred thousand men, besides two thousand engines for throwing missiles and stones. "We congratulate you on your promptness," the consuls continued; "now yield Carthage to us and settle wherever you like within your own land, ten miles from the sea; for we are resolved to destroy your city."

Appian, *Foreign Wars*, viii. 77.

The destruction of Carthage, 146 B.C.

The boundless grief and fury of the people, excited by such cruel perfidy, settled down to a fixed resolve to defend their city to the last drop of blood. As they had to make new weapons, they converted even the temples into workshops, and the women gave their hair for bowstrings. They gallantly repulsed the attacks of the consuls, and for three years they defended themselves like heroes. At last Scipio Æmilianus[1] forced a passage into the city, where he fought his way not only through the streets below, but even on the housetops, from roof to roof. "All places were filled with groans, shrieks, shouts, and every kind of agony. Some [Carthaginians] were stabbed, others were hurled alive from the roofs to the pavement, some of them alighting on

Appian, *Foreign Wars*, viii. 128 f. (Probably from Polybius, who was present.)

[1] Son of Æmilius Paulus (p. 121), but adopted into the family of the Scipios.

the heads of spears. . . . Then he set fire to the three streets all together, and gave orders to keep the passage-ways clear of burning material so that the army might move back and forth freely.

"Then came new scenes of horror. As the fire spread and carried everything down, the soldiers did not destroy the buildings little by little, but all in a heap. So the crash-

The horrors of war.

STORMING A CITY

ing grew louder, and many corpses fell with the stones into the midst. Others were seen still living, especially old men, women, and young children who had hidden in the inmost nooks of the houses, some of them wounded, some more or less burned, and uttering piteous cries. Still others, thrust out and falling from such a height with the stones, timbers, and fire, were torn asunder in all shapes of horror, crushed and mangled. Nor was this the end of their miseries, for the street cleaners who were removing the rubbish with axes,

mattocks, and forks, and making the road passable, tossed with these instruments the dead and the living together into holes in the ground, dragging them along like sticks and stones, and turning them over with their iron tools. . . . Horses ran over them . . . not purposely on the part of the riders, but in their headlong haste. Nor did the street cleaners do these things on purpose; but the tug of war, the glory of approaching victory, the rush of the soldiery, the orders of the officers, the blast of the trumpets, tribunes and centurions marching their cohorts hither and thither — all together made everybody frantic and heedless of the spectacles under their eyes." This picture, apparently drawn by an eye-witness, needs no comment. After the Romans had exterminated this innocent people, they cursed the ground on which the city stood, that it might never be rebuilt, and the territory it ruled they made into the province of Africa.

Ligurian, Gallic, and Spanish wars.

The story of the conquest of Greece and Carthage, just told, illustrates the character of Roman warfare during the half century which followed the peace with Hannibal. In the same period, wars with the Ligurians and the rebellious Celts of northern Italy ended in the thorough conquest of Cisalpine Gaul. Spain, subdued in the Second Punic War, was made into two provinces. But the people of this country so loved liberty and were so obstinate that the Romans had to reconquer them several times. While doing so, they showed increasing cruelty and perfidy: they violated treaties; they connived at the murder of Spanish leaders; they massacred troops who had surrendered under agreement. The siege of Numantia, a rebellious town of Spain, was a repetition of the siege of Carthage, — it reveals the immorality and weakness of the common soldiers, the baseness and incompetence of the generals, and still worse, the alarm-

Pp. 105, 108, 140.

197 B.C.

ing degradation of the senate. Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, had the honor of stamping out this rebellion, 133 B.C.

The Romans now ruled most of the territory along the Mediterranean between Mount Taurus and the Pillars of Hercules. They had seven or possibly nine provinces[1] under governors sent from the capital, many subject states, and many allies in various stages of dependency. Less than a century and a half had elapsed since Rome, as the head of Italy, entered on her career of foreign conquest; outside of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, she had acquired all this power in a lifetime. Within another century and a half, she will round out her empire so as to include all the countries which surround the Mediterranean. But these two cycles of conquest bring with them momentous changes in the character of her government and in the condition of her citizens. **Summary.**

Sources

Polybius i–v and considerable fragments of the other books; Livy xvi–lix (bks. xxi–xlv entire, the rest in an epitome); Appian, *Foreign Wars*, v–xi; Plutarch, *Fabius Maximus; Marcellus; Flamininus; Æmilius; M. Cato; Philopœmen;* Nepos, *Hannibal;* Florus ii; Diodorus xxiii–xxxii (brief fragments); Eutropius ii. 18–iv. 17; Justin xxviii–xxxiv; cf. Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. v. **Reading.**

Modern Works

Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. III. chs. i, ii; Shuckburgh, *History of Rome*, chs. xvii–xx, xxii–xxv, xxvii–xxxiii; How and Leigh,

[1] Cisalpine Gaul, conquered in 191, may not have been organized as a province before 81 B.C. Illyricum, on the opposite coast of the Adriatic, was subdued in 167 B.C., and became a province at some unknown time afterward. The province of Asia — in western Asia Minor — was formed in 133 B.C.; p. 130. The other provinces, already mentioned in the text, were Sicily and Sardinia with Corsica 227 B.C., the two Spains, 197 B.C., and Africa and Macedonia, 146 B.C.

History of Rome, chs. xvii–xxvii ; **Ihne**, *History of Rome*, bks. IV, V (entire) ; Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. III. chs. i–x ; Duruy, *History of Rome* (I, II), chs. xix–xxxiii ; Arnold, *History of Rome*, III. chs. xlii–xlvii ; *Life of Hannibal ;* Smith (R. B.), *Rome and Carthage ; Carthage and the Carthaginians ;* Church, *Story of Carthage ;* How, *Hannibal ;* Morris, *Hannibal* (Heroes); Dodge, *Hannibal* (Great Captains); Mason, *Struggle for Empire* (tutorial series); Bossier, *Roman Africa*, chs. i, ii ; Hall, *The Romans on the Riviera and the Rhone*, chs. ii–iv ; Long, *Decline of the Roman Republic*, I. chs. i–vii ; Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest ; The Greek World under Roman Sway*, ch. i ; Freeman, *Federal Government*, chs. v–ix (Greek leagues); Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, ch. xv (Greek civilization in the East).

A Street in Pompeii
(Present Appearance.)

CHAPTER VI

THE GROWTH OF PLUTOCRACY (264–133 B.C.)

Second Period of the Republic — Internal History

"Yes! rather than be poor,
What will not mortals do, what not endure? —
Such dread disgrace to shun,
From virtue's toilsome path away we run."
— Horace, *Odes*, iii. 24.

The federal policy of Rome in Italy.

Rome was a city-state, whose early republican constitution was well adapted to a small community. In striking contrast with the Greeks, she showed an admirable liberality in bestowing the citizenship upon strangers. Of some of the territory acquired in Italy by war or by diplomacy she made new tribes, whose members were full citizens. Other communities she kept in half-subjection, — municipalities without the right of suffrage, —

P. 63 f.

Botsford, *Greece*, p. 178.

whose people were within the state, but not in the tribes. Still others were allies, who permitted Rome to manage their foreign relations and to lead them in war. The supremacy of Rome in Italy was a military leadership of a group of states bound together by common interests and kindred blood. This system the allies did not consider wholly unjust; for though they were without representation in the central government, and were therefore, in some degree, subjects, they were free to administer their local affairs, and the meanest of them hoped gradually to obtain an improvement of their condition.

The imperial policy of Rome outside of Italy.

When the Romans acquired their first territory outside of Italy, they departed from the federal policy they had hitherto pursued, and instituted in its place the province. This word, which originally signified any limited sphere of duty or of authority, came to be applied especially to commands outside of Italy, and thence to the territory commanded. Some years after the First Punic War the Roman senate made a province of Sicily and another of Sardinia and Corsica. Later it added Hither and Farther Spain, Macedonia, Africa, and Asia. After creating four prætors as governors of provinces, in addition to the two who attended to jurisdiction at home, it filled the remaining governorships with proconsuls and proprætors.[1]

P. 103.

227 B.C.

Pp. 123, 126.

297, 146 B.C.

133 B.C.

P. 86.

Despotic rule over the provinces.

The senate intended to hold the provincials in subjection forever. Accordingly it freed them from military service, thus depriving them of the spirit and the means of resistance, and imposed upon them instead a yearly tribute — the badge and the burden of slavery. The annual gov-

[1] A proconsul or proprætor was an officer who held the power of a consul or prætor in some special command outside of Rome. As a rule consuls and prætors, at the close of their terms, became proconsuls and proprætors; pp. 55, 139.

ernor, too, was absolute master. He was at once general, judge, and chief executive; through his quæstor[1] he controlled the finances of the province. His will was restrained only by the faint fear of prosecution on his return to Rome. P. 82.

Advantages of Roman rule.

Some advantages fell to the provinces from Roman rule. First of all, they enjoyed peace: there were no more petty wars between the small communities; there was rarely a foreign invasion; and the deadly evil of civil discord ceased. The cities of a province retained their own laws and self-administration, with this restriction on their freedom, that everywhere the wealthier class held control. The Sicilians paid Rome no more tribute than their former masters had levied; some other provinces rendered even less. To most of the subject races it was a further gain that their crude ideas of justice should be refined by the civil law of Rome. To reduce the warring nations of the Mediterranean world to permanent peace under a well-ordered system of administration was in itself a noble task. P. 59.

Evil effects of Roman rule.

Under these circumstances prosperity and content ought to have reigned throughout the provinces. Naturally we are disappointed in finding their true condition anything but happy. The chief cause of their misery was economic; with rare exceptions Rome forbade commercial intercourse among the cities of a province, and even restricted trade between one province and another. By impoverishing all but the favored few, this policy gradually sapped the life-blood of the wretched subjects. In place of native merchants a horde of greedy money-lenders, speculators, and traders poured from the capital over all the provinces; and while their citizenship at Rome protected their lives and their ill-got wealth, by their monopoly of commerce, by

Rome monopolizes the wealth of the world.

[1] Generally there was one quæstor in charge of the finances of each province. Sicily, however, had two.

their exactions and heavy rates of interest, they acquired most of the property in the subject countries and reduced the people to debt and misery. Such speculations transformed the small farms tilled by their owners into vast estates worked by slaves, whose discontent broke out in wars that threatened the existence of the imperial city. Besides, the system which Rome followed of letting out the collection of taxes to contractors was full of evil. The knights, whose wealth enabled them to take these contracts, ground the provincials by their enormous exactions. They, whom the Hebrews justly hated as "publicans and sinners," assailed the taxpayers like savage beasts leaping upon their prey.

Pp. 343.

Pp. 34, 46, 69, 140.

Matthew v. 46; ix. 11.

Oppression of the provinces by the governor.

Rarely did a governor try to repress these wrongs; the attempt would only have roused witnesses against his own misdeeds. As he received no salary and but a slight allowance from the treasury for expenses, it was necessary for the province to support him, together with his family and retinue, during his term. This right to maintenance the governor made a pretext for the most cruel and oppressive extortion. Not content with the wealth of his people, a rapacious ruler seized their works of art, and even sold many free men into slavery. The rapid rotation of commanders increased the evil. In his short term of office the governor expected to make three fortunes: the first to pay the debts he had contracted in bribing his way to power; a second to satisfy his judges in case of prosecution on his return to Rome; and a third to enable him to live in luxury for the remainder of his days.[1] Though a special court was established for the trial of extortion committed in the provinces, it accomplished no good; for the judges were of

P. 148.

Court for the trial of extortion, 149 B.C.

[1] Naturally we find exceptions to the rule; for instance, Cato as governor of Sardinia was perfectly honest and just; p. 144.

like mind with the culprits. Thieves and plunderers sat in judgment on thieves and plunderers; a year or two would reverse the rôle of the two parties. The story of provincial oppression is horrible enough without taking into account the brutality of the governor, and of his soldiers quartered upon a people who, for their lives, dared not shield the innocence of their dearest friends and relatives. Before the end of the republic, this organized and protected system of plunder and misrule had wrought throughout the provinces a desolation as fearful as the ravages of invading barbarians. The "peace of Rome" meant slavery, decay, and death.

The decline of Italy.

Italy was to experience a similar decline. The Italian league, under the headship of Rome, was the strongest and most thoroughly centralized political system the world had yet known. The network of military roads and fortress colonies, the respect felt for the power and moderation of the leading city, and the common sentiment of nationality, held the race of Italians together as an organic unit. The war with Hannibal they felt to be a struggle for the defence of home and country against an alien invader. Neither the terror of his devastations nor the slaughter at Trasimene, "when all around was consuming in the flames of war, could shake the fidelity of the allies, for this evident reason, that they lived under a temperate and mild government; nor were they unwilling to submit to those who were superior to them, which is the only bond of fidelity." When, however, Rome reconquered the many southern Italians who had deserted to the enemy after the battle of Cannæ, she treated them, not as erring kinsmen, but as subjects and slaves. She confiscated large tracts of their lands; she degraded the Bruttians and the Campanians from the condition of allies to that of state serfs.

Pp. 63 f, 130.

P. 63.

P. 109.

Livy xxii. 13; cf. Polybius iii. 90.

P. 111.

Economic ruin of Italy.

Economic causes told even more ruinously upon Italy. Restrictions on trade — nearly the same as those which prevailed in the provinces — stifled the life of the whole peninsula. The great commercial cities of Capua and Tarentum disappeared; in the streets of the once prosperous Greek towns which still remained, merchants gave

P. 124.

place to beggars. The Roman monopolists who destroyed Corinth and Carthage brooked no competition nearer home. The farming class suffered equally with the traders; for as Rome now drew her food supply from the provinces, — cheap produce of slave labor, — the Italian peasants could find no market for their grain. Driven from their farms by Hannibal, thousands of them returned no more, and thousands of others were ejected by the confiscations of Rome. The system of great estates worked by slaves spread itself over Italy. The large proprietors forcibly seized the farms of their poor neighbors. "Thus the

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 7.

nobles became enormously rich, and while the race of slaves multiplied throughout the country, the Italians dwindled in numbers and in strength, oppressed by penury, taxes, and military service." "The wild beasts of Italy have their dens and holes and hiding-places, while the men who fight and die in defence of Italy enjoy, indeed, the air and the light, but nothing else;

Tiberius Gracchus, quoted by Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*, 9.

houseless and without a spot of ground to rest upon, they wander about with their wives and children, while their commanders, with a lie in their mouths, exhort their soldiers to defend their tombs and temples against the enemy; for out of so many Romans not one has a family altar or ancestral tomb, but they fight to maintain the wealth and luxury of others, and they die with the title of 'lords of the earth,' without possessing a single clod to call their

133 B. C.

own." Such was the condition of Italy at the close of

the great period of foreign conquest treated in the preceding chapter.

Had the Italians been able to secure representation in the Roman senate, they might by this means have protected their property and their freedom. Such a reform, by broadening the basis of the state from the city of Rome to the great country of Italy, would probably have saved both city and country from the hundred years of revolution and the military despotism which were to come. And the Romans were not ignorant of the idea; for after the battle of Cannæ, Spurius Carvilius proposed that two representatives should be admitted to the senate from every Latin colony, — a measure which would have been a decisive move in the right direction. But the senate was too selfish and too short-sighted to consider the proposition. "A loud and violent expression of disapproval ran through the whole house." A member threatened to kill with his own hand any Latin senator who dared intrude. "Thereupon Quintus Fabius Maximus said that never was a subject introduced into the senate at a more unseasonable time, . . . that the proposal above all others deserved to be covered and consigned to darkness and oblivion, and looked upon as if it had never been made. This put a stop to the mention of the subject." The Romans were reversing their former policy of liberality toward strangers. So highly did they esteem the privileges and the honors they enjoyed as an imperial people, that henceforth they refused to bestow the citizenship upon others except in the rarest cases. Exalted by conquest to the position of aristocrats, even the common people looked down upon the Italians as inferiors.

Representation suggested.

216 B.C.

Livy xxiii. 23.

Cf. p. 52.

P. 21.

P. 90.

According to the terms of the constitution as amended by Hortensius, the Roman people possessed absolute equality of rights; and whether they voted by tribes or

The people.

P. 88.

Polybius vi. 16.

241 (?) B.C. by centuries, they were sovereign. After the First Punic
P. 69. War the censors so reformed the assembly of centuries as
P. 75. to give the poor the same number of votes as the rich, thus making it as democratic in form as the tribal meeting had been from the beginning.

The equality and the sovereignty of the people, however, were empty forms. In fact the assembly was composed of those who lived in and near the city, as distance prevented most of the citizens from attending. Hence the
P. 149. city population, which was fast becoming a rabble, alone exercised the right to vote. Again, a member of an
P. 71. assembly could not propose a law or a candidate for office, or speak on any subject; he could merely vote for or against the candidates and the measures offered by the

The magistrates. presiding officer, who rarely failed to enforce his will upon the comitia. To Polybius, the historian, who lived in this period, the higher magistrates seemed like kings. "The consuls, before leading out the legions, remain in Rome and are supreme masters of the administration. All other magistrates, except the tribunes, are under them

Polybius vi. 12. and take their orders. They introduce foreign ambassadors to the senate; bring matters requiring deliberation before it; and see to the execution of its decrees. If, again, there are matters of state which require the authorization of the people, it is their business to see to them, to summon the popular meetings, to bring the proposals before them, and to carry out the decrees of the majority. In the preparation for war, also, and in a word, in the entire administration of a campaign, they have all but absolute power. It is within their competence to impose on the allies such levies as they think good, to appoint the military tribunes, to make up the roll of soldiers and select those that are suitable. Besides, they have abso-

lute power of inflicting punishment on all who are under their command while in active service; and they have authority to expend as much of the public money as they choose, being accompanied by a quæstor who is entirely at their orders. A survey of these powers would in fact justify our describing the constitution as despotic, — a clear case of royal government." P. 67. P. 131.

The senate.

Polybius, however, was not deceived by appearances, for he knew that the consuls were in fact, though not in theory, subject to the senate, — the real master of the state. "The senate has first of all control of the treasury, and regulates the receipts and disbursements alike. For the quæstors cannot issue any public money for the various departments of the state without a decree of the senate, except for the service of the consuls.[1] The senate controls also what is by far the largest and most important expenditure [in time of peace], that made by the censors in every term of their office for the repair or construction of public buildings; this money cannot be obtained by the censors except by the grant of the senate. Similarly all crimes committed in Italy requiring a public investigation, such as treason, conspiracy, poisoning, or wilful murder, are in the hands of the senate. Besides, if any individual or state among the Italian allies requires a controversy to be settled, a penalty to be assessed, help or protection to be afforded, — all this is the province of the senate. Or again, outside Italy, if it is necessary to send an embassy to reconcile warring communities, or to remind them of their duty, or sometimes to impose requisitions upon them, or to receive their submission, or finally to proclaim war against them, — this too is the Polybius vi. 13. P. 81.

[1] In fact we find the senate often restricting the expenses even of the consuls.

business of the senate. In like manner the reception given to foreign ambassadors at Rome, and the answers to be returned to them, are decided by the senate. With such business the people have nothing to do. Consequently, if one were staying at Rome, when the consuls were not in town, one would imagine the constitution to be a complete aristocracy; and this has been the idea entertained by many Greeks, and by many kings as well, from the fact that nearly all the business they had with Rome was settled with the senate."

The curule ex-magistrates have control.

The senators were not all equal; for those who had held no curule office were placed by the censors in an inferior class, and were called upon to vote though not to speak. The curule ex-magistrates, on the other hand, were grouped in higher classes according to the offices they had filled, and were at liberty not only to vote, but also to debate and to suggest measures. This knot of ex-magistrates controlled the entire senate and, through it, Rome, Italy, and the provinces. It seemed just that experienced statesmen should have more authority than the assembly of plain citizens, who knew nothing of the condition of the world beyond the borders of their own little neighborhood.

P. 67, n. 1.

Decline of the nobility.

The circle to which these ex-magistrates belonged formed, in the beginning, a nobility of merit. It unified Italy; it saved the state from Hannibal; it conquered and organized the Mediterranean world. "The Roman senate was a political organism of the highest perfection, such as no other state in antiquity ever created or was qualified to create." But from the end of the Second Punic War we see the nobles rapidly declining in character and in ability. They formed a closed hereditary caste, consisting of a few great houses, and rarely admitted new men to their privileged circle; they hated as an intruder any commoner who,

Ihne, *Rome*, iv. p. 65.

P. 122.

through popular favor, forced his way into office against their will. By their control of the entire religious and political machinery of government, they monopolized the offices at home and in the provinces, and passed them in rotation among the members of their families.

ÆDILE
(Giving the Signal at the Games.)

A young noble, after service as an officer in the army, and perhaps after enriching himself as a provincial quæstor, secured election to a curule ædileship. In this position it was his duty to entertain the people with costly religious festivals and shows, chiefly at his own expense; in this way he gained their favor and their votes for the higher offices. With this legal and pious system of corruption, he had little need of resorting to open bribery. Thence he advanced to the prætorship and to the consulship. As prætor, proprætor, or proconsul, he governed a province, where he glutted himself with spoil and acquired the haughtiness and the brutality of an unbridled king. If he won distinc-

The career of honors (offices). P. 131.

P. 86.

P. 130.

tion in this "career of honors," the people showed their appreciation by electing him to the censorship — the crown of glory of the nobility. To complete our understanding of the nobles of this period, it is necessary to bear in mind that they were capitalists, who sought office not merely for honor, but also as a means of absorbing the riches of the world. The nobility of merit became a narrow, self-seeking plutocracy.

Plutocracy.

The knights.

The nobles and other wealthy men to the number of eighteen hundred filled the centuries of knights in the comitia centuriata. Still other men of means who might be required to furnish their own horses for service in the cavalry were also called knights. The class so named, originally including the senators, were the capitalists, who took government contracts for collecting taxes and for building public works, and who had in their hands most of the commerce and industry of the Roman world.

P. 69.

P. 46.

Opposition to the rule of the nobles.

Early in the period the selfish policy of the senate provoked opposition. The people, who had carried on the first war with Carthage in the hope of receiving lands in Sicily, were disappointed to find the nobles retaining the whole island as their own estate. Under these circumstances a man of the people, Gaius Flaminius, tribune in 232 B.C., proposed to the assembly a law for dividing the public lands in Picenum among the citizens. By insisting on his constitutional right to offer the measure without the consent of the senate, he threatened to destroy the power of the nobility. For this reason the historian calls his proposal "the first step in the demoralization of the people." The citizens gladly ratified his measure, however, and when, a few years later, war broke out with the Gauls of the Po valley, they elected him consul, that he might win more lands for them. He extended the rule of Rome to

P. 98.

P. 130.

P. 88.

Polybius ii. 21.

Pp. 105, 126.

223 B.C.

the Alps, and as censor built a road, named after him the Flaminian Way, from the capital to Ariminum, to give easy access to the new territory. The people were colonizing this country when the invasion of Hannibal interrupted their work. Their first feeling was that the senate, which had kept all Sicily and Sardinia for itself, was now betraying to the enemy their interests in northern Italy. They would have their revenge. 220 B.C.

Encouraged by Flaminius, their tribune Quintus Claudius passed a law which forbade senators from owning merchant ships, — in other words, from engaging in commerce, — probably, too, from taking state contracts. The object was to prevent the senators from using the government as their money-making instrument. Many of them continued to trade and to speculate, as before, but they now did it secretly, in violation of law. The Claudian measure was the first step toward separating the senators from the knights — the governing aristocracy from the commercial class. **Separation of the senators from the knights.** Livy xxi. 63. P. 156.

While the people were voting this law, Hannibal was seizing their possessions in the Po valley. Naturally their thoughts turned once more to Flaminius, their champion. Elected consul for 217 B.C., he took command against the invader, but was defeated and killed at Trasimene. Rome lost in him an able statesman and a great builder; and though the aristocrats through jealousy and hatred called him a demagogue, his character and motives were nobler than theirs. As leader of the people in opposition to the senate, he was succeeded by Varro, a business man, whose defeat at Cannæ ruined himself and his party. For nearly a century after that time there was no open opposition to the senate; but through the years of silence the pent-up fires of discontent were gathering strength for an explosion which was to shatter the aristocracy. **Failure of the opposition.** P. 108 f. 216 B.C. P. 110. 216–133 B.C. P. 154.

Publius Scipio Africanus.
P. 113 ff.

After Flaminius and Varro, the only political strife was that between nobles for the possession of office. The conquest of Spain and the victory at Zama made Scipio Africanus the greatest man in Rome. No citizen before him had ever reached such a height of fortune and power. For fifteen years he was foreman of the senate; he was consul twice, and censor. From the end of the war with Hannibal he contended with all his might against the provincial system; for he saw that the necessity of garrisoning the provinces would soon exhaust the strength of Italy.[1] In keeping with this principle he planted several colonies in Italy, whose military strength was to be reserved for the defence of the peninsula. Thus the chief of the aristocrats continued the colonial policy of Flaminius.

"PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS"
(National Museum, Naples.)

He behaves like a king.
Cf. p. 139.

But he had many enemies. Accustomed to absolute command in the field, at Rome he displayed the character of a king. He used his immense influence for the politi-

[1] Accordingly he left Carthage and the Spanish tribes self-governing under the protectorate of Rome; and his brother Lucius applied the same principle to Greece and to Asia Minor after the war with Antiochus. Cato, his opponent, however, undid the work in Spain, and hounded on the Romans to the destruction of Carthage; pp. 123, 146.

cal advancement of his family, and trampled upon the law to protect a brother from trial for embezzlement. Finally the tribunes of the people prosecuted him for receiving bribes, for extravagance and tyranny in his military commands, for impressing foreign nations with the idea "that he alone was the head and pillar of the Roman empire; that a state which was mistress of the world lay sheltered under the shade of Scipio; that his nods were equivalent to decrees of the senate and orders of the people." Without replying to the charges, he is said to have spoken as follows: "Tribunes of the people, and you, Romans, on the anniversary of this day I fought a pitched battle in Africa, with Hannibal and the Carthaginians, with good fortune and success. As, therefore, it is but decent that a stop be put for this day to wrangling and litigation, I will immediately go to the Capitol, there to return my acknowledgments to Jupiter, supremely good and great, to Juno, Minerva, and the other deities presiding over the Capitol and citadel; and will give them thanks for having, on this day and at many other times, endowed me both with the will and with the ability to perform extraordinary services to the state. Such of you also, Romans, as it suits, come with me and beseech the gods that you may have commanders like myself." The whole assembly followed him with enthusiasm. But though he was a man of culture, fond of literature and of luxury, his talents were chiefly military. Unable to cope with his political enemies, he retired into the country to private life. He was the first man whose great personality had endangered the republic.

Livy xxxviii. 51.

Pp. 113, 115.

Marcus Porcius Cato, his chief antagonist, was a narrow, unsympathetic, close-fisted, egotistic moralist — a survival of the older Roman virtue. He was a peasant by birth, and drew the inspiration of his life from the memories of

Marcius Porcius Cato, the Censor.
P. 123.

P. 92.

Manius Curius Dentatus, the great peasant-statesman of the good old time, whose modest cottage stood near his father's farm. Accordingly "he worked with his slaves, in winter wearing a coarse coat without sleeves, in summer nothing but his tunic; and he used to sit at meals with them, eating the same loaf and drinking the same wine." In a sort of farmer's diary he gives practical hints on agriculture: for instance, "he is a bad farmer who buys what he can raise on his own land; a bad father of a household who takes in hand by day what can be done by candlelight, unless the weather be bad; a still worse, who does on a work-day what might be done on a holiday." It is wise, he taught, to buy young, strong slaves and sell them when they grow too old to work. A slave must either work or sleep; he must have no time for mischief and must not be on too good terms with his fellows. This stinginess and inhumanity followed Cato through his entire life.

Plutarch, *M. Cato*, 3.

Cato, *On Agriculture*; cf. Mommsen, *Rome*, bk. iii. ch. xii.

P. 342.

Plutarch, *M. Cato*, 4, 21.

His government of Sardinia.

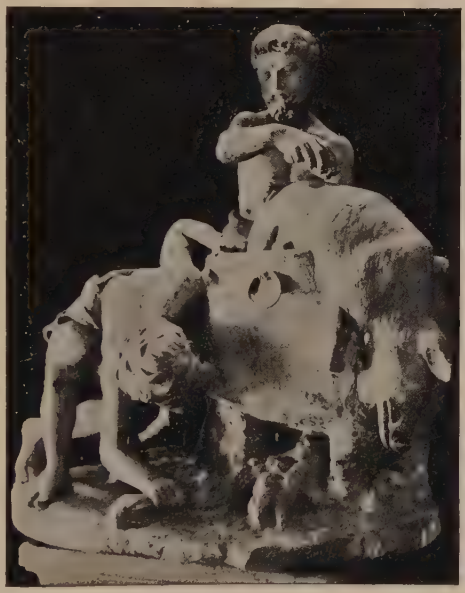
Ability and honesty raised this thrifty peasant to the highest offices. "When he was governor of Sardinia, where former rulers had been in the habit of charging their tents, bedding, and wearing apparel to the province, and likewise making it pay large sums for their entertainment and that of their friends, he introduced an unheard-of system of economy. He charged nothing to the province, and visited the various cities without a carriage, on foot and alone, attended by one public servant, who carried his robe of state and the vessel for making libations at a sacrifice. With all this he showed himself so affable and simple to those under his rule, so severe and inexorable in the administration of justice, and so vigilant and careful in seeing that his orders were executed, that the government of Rome was never more feared or more loved in Sardinia than when he ruled that island."

Pp. 104, 132.

Plutarch, *M. Cato*, 6.

Notwithstanding this justice toward the dependents of Rome, he despised them, and in opposition to Scipio Africanus, did all he could to reduce the allied states to provinces. In his home policy he assailed with untiring energy the luxury, the refinement, and the culture represented by the Scipios; it was chiefly his influence which overthrew this powerful family. The nobles feared and hated the red-haired, gray-eyed, savage-tusked "new man," who rebuked their follies and their sins. Chosen censor in spite of their opposition, he expelled from the senate a number of disreputable members, taxed luxuries unmercifully, administered the public works and let out the public contracts without favoritism. The people, therefore, placed his statue in the Temple of Health, with this inscription, "This statue was erected to Cato because, when censor, finding the state of Rome corrupt and degenerate, he, by introducing wise regulations and virtuous discipline, restored it." The praise

His censorship. P. 143.



SACRIFICING A PIG
(National Museum, Naples.)

Livy xxxviii. 54. P. 86. 184 B.C.

Livy xxxix. 41 ff.

Plutarch, *M. Cato*, 16 ff.

is too great. No statesman of his time fathomed the depth of the evil, much less discovered a remedy for it. When in 149 B.C., after persuading the Romans to destroy Carthage, Cato died at an advanced age, the flood-gates of corruption were still wide open.

P. 124.

The beginnings of Roman literature.

Cato was the strongest character in the literature as well as in the politics of his age. The practical Romans aimed not at the beautiful, but at the useful in letters, and devoted themselves, therefore, especially to history, oratory, and the science of law. The first native Italian to apply himself earnestly to literature was Nævius, a soldier of the First Punic War, who composed in verse a history of the conflict in which he bore a part. Ennius of Calabria, introduced to Roman society by Cato, wrote a metrical history of Rome. The works of these two poets doubtless furnished much material to the historians. Though Nævius adhered to the native form of verse, Ennius adopted the Greek heroic measure. This increasing influence of Greece is seen in an older contemporary of Ennius, — Plautus, who translated Greek comedies into Latin, adding touches of Roman character and enlivening the original with his fresh wit. His plays afford an occasional glimpse of Roman life. Terence, a slave from Carthage, who lived later than Plautus, was more elegant, more Greek, than his predecessor, though less lively and creative. His comedies furnish little material for a study of the times.

254–184 (?) B.C.

Died 159 B.C.

The beginnings of history.

Serious history, in contrast to the verses of Nævius and Ennius, began with Fabius Pictor, a senator and an officer in the war with Hannibal. He wrote in Greek, the literary language of the age, a history of Rome from Æneas to his own day. In the earlier part of his work, while depending chiefly upon the meagre chronicle which the pontiffs had kept from near the beginning of the republic, he inserted

P. 17.

Dionysius i. 79.

many myths, invented mostly by the Greeks. In his treatment of his own age he followed reliable sources, but showed extreme partiality to Rome. His work was called the *Annals*, because he grouped events by years rather than by topics. It is important to bear in mind that as the contemporary writing of history begins with the Punic Wars, we have from that time a narrative both detailed and fairly accurate, whereas the earlier period abounds in myths and other fictions.

Polybius i. 14 f.

Polybius.

After Fabius, several persons wrote Roman histories in Greek, among them Polybius, a statesman of the Achæan League. He came to Rome as a hostage, lived there under the patronage of Æmilius Paulus, the victor of Pydna, and taught the son who was afterward to be known as Scipio Æmilianus. Polybius wrote a detailed account of the expansion of the Roman power. In preparing this work he examined documents, travelled about to learn the geography, climate, and products of the countries he treated, and especially attended to the causes, connection, and effects of events; in a word, he set a good example of studying history by the methods approved at the present day. Cato was the first to compose a history of Rome and Italy — the *Origins* — in Latin prose; and it is chiefly for this reason that he is considered the founder of Latin prose literature. "He tells us that he himself wrote books on history with his own hand in large letters, that his boy might start in life with a useful knowledge of what his forefathers had done."

P. 121. Pp. 124, 149, 154.

Polybius i. 1, 4; iii. 7, 31, 33, 37, 47, 59.

Cato, *Origins*.

Plutarch, *M. Cato*, 20.

Oratory.

An orator, too, of remarkable force, Cato inserted many specimens of his eloquence in his history, and wrote a manual on the subject of speaking. "The Romans were well qualified for oratory by their acute intellect, their love of order, and their Italian vivacity tempered with Roman

Teuffel, *Roman Literature*, i. p. 64.

gravity." Constant practice at the funerals of kinsmen, in the law-courts, in the assemblies, and in the senate, had already in the age of Cato produced a number of able speakers. It was not till the following period, however, that their oratory, under Greek influence, reached its highest stage of perfection.

Architecture.

In art the Romans of the period accomplished far less than in literature, though their useful public works, as sewers, bridges, roads, and aqueducts, were unrivalled. Cato, when censor, built by the senate-house the Basilica Porcia, a hall to be used as a law-court and place of business. Others followed his example in the erection of basilicas near the Forum. Countless temples rose throughout the city, but most of them, of modest cost and size, soon fell to ruin through neglect. On the other hand, the nobles began to build large expensive residences, while the people lived in huts, as formerly, or swarmed together in tenements. The narrow streets, obstructed in many places by shrines and statues, were densely crowded in the business quarters during the day; and the few police could not prevent thieves from prowling at night in the darkness unrelieved by lamps.

Stolen art.

At this time Rome had hardly made a beginning of sculpture, and had achieved little more in painting, but preferred to import ship-loads of art as plunder from the cities of Sicily and of Greece. Without appreciation of real beauty, the nobles took pleasure in adorning their houses and villas with stolen statues.

Pp. 123, 132.

Foreign religions.

Along with foreign art came the ideas, the religion, and the morals of strangers. They began to worship the Greek Dionysus, or Bacchus, god of the vine and of life, including future life, and the Phrygian Cybele, Mother of the Gods, whom noisy processions honored in the streets with drums, trumpets, and cymbals, with war dances and bloody tumults.

P. 91.

Thus men and women passed from sobriety to fanaticism. Unsatisfied with the empty rituals of their own religion, they embraced these Oriental worships which stirred their souls with the ecstasy of joy or the enthusiasm of hope. Rumors of secret meetings and of conspiracies excited the senate to persecute the followers of Bacchus with such frenzy as our forefathers showed in hunting witches.

P. 29.

Morals, already declining, were corrupted by Eastern influence; for the unimaginative Roman, who saw little beauty in Greek mythology and art, welcomed the baser pleasures of an advanced civilization. At the same time Greek scepticism unsettled his religious faith, the foundation of his moral conduct. It is not to be assumed that all the Romans were now vicious. The peasant who escaped economic ruin was still sound at heart; and even the circle of aristocrats produced the pure-minded Scipio Æmilianus and the noble, self-sacrificing spirit of the two Gracchi, who were to be the leaders of the coming age of revolution. But in the city corruption was almost universal. Crowds of beggar clients attended the noble, and voted for him in return for the loaves he doled out to them, or for the shows of buffoons, beasts, and gladiators with which

A Bacchante

(National Museum, Naples; a fresco from Pompeii.)

P. 156.

he amused them from time to time. The rending of flesh and the flow of blood gave this rabble its keenest delight. As to the higher ranks, the greed of the capitalist and the insolence
P. 140. of the noble, already described, were surpassed only by the impurity of their lives, while beneath the specious harmony which seemed to unite all classes in the state and empire, mutual fear and hatred lurked.

Summary. "A more repulsive picture can hardly be imagined. A mob, a moneyed class, and an aristocracy almost equally worthless, hating each other, and hated by the rest of the world; Italians bitterly jealous of Romans, and only in a better plight than the provinces beyond the sea; more miserable than either, swarms of slaves beginning to brood over revenge as a solace to their sufferings; the land going out of cultivation; native industry swamped by slave-grown imports; the population decreasing; the army degenerating; wars waged as a speculation, but only against the weak; provinces subjected to organized pillage; in the metropolis childish superstition, wholesale luxury, and monstrous vice. The hour for reform was surely come. Who was to be the man?"

Beesly, *The Gracchi, Marius, and Sulla*, p. 22 f.

Sources

Reading. The same as for the preceding chapter (p. 127). Cf. Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. vi.

Modern Works

Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. III. ch. iii; How and Leigh, *History of Rome*, chs. xxviii–xxxii; Shuckburgh, *History of Rome*, chs. xxi, xxvi, xxxii; **Taylor**, *Constitutional and Political History of Rome*, chs. vii, viii; Fowler, *City-State*, ch. viii; Nitzsch, *Römische Republik*, i. pp. 133–188; **Ihne**, *History of Rome*, bk. VI (entire); Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. III. chs. xi–xiv; bk. IV. ch. i; Duruy, *History of Rome* (I, II) chs. xxii, xxxiv–xxxvii, xliv; Beesly, *Gracchi, Marius, and Sulla* (epochs), ch. i; **Arnold**, *Roman Provincial Administration*, chs. i, ii; Freeman, *Historical Geography;* Mackail, *Latin Literature*, bk. I. chs. i–iii; Cruttwell, *History of Roman Literature*, bk. I.

THE EXPANSION OF THE ROMAN POWER FROM THE GRACCHI to the Death of AUGUSTUS.

133 B. C. to 14 A. D.

SCALE OF MILES

100 50 0 100 200 300 400

Roman Power in 133 B. C.
Acquired 133 B. C.- 14 A. D.
Allies of Rome, 14 A. D.

For Chapters VII–IX.
For Rome see Page 35

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ITALIAN OXEN

CHAPTER VII

THE REVOLUTION — (I) FROM PLUTOCRACY TO MILITARISM. THE GRACCHI, MARIUS, AND SULLA (133–79 B.C.)

THIRD PERIOD OF THE REPUBLIC — FIRST EPOCH

"Thinned by their parents' crimes, our youth shall hear
How Roman against Roman bared the blade,
Which the fierce Persian fitlier low had laid, —
Shall hear how kin met kin in conflict drear."

— HORACE, *Odes*, i. 2.

THE brothers Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, though plebeian, belonged to the highest nobility. Their father had filled all the great offices and had celebrated triumphs; **Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus.**

Plutarch, *Ti. Gracchus; G. Gracchus.*

P. 336.

P. 29.

Duruy, *Rome*, ii. p. 445.

Cornelia, the mother, was daughter of the Scipio who conquered Hannibal. Their education as well as their birth and connections fitted them for a splendid career. The gifted mother, so Cicero believes, taught them eloquence; Greek tutors instructed them in the philosophy and the political ideas of Hellas. While a mere youth Tiberius became an augur, and afterward married the daughter of Appius Claudius; his sister was given in marriage to Scipio Æmilianus. When as young men they served in military and provincial offices, the allies, the dependents, and even the enemies of Rome respected and loved them for the kindness of their forefathers and for their own high character; for they had inherited "a generous sympathy with the oppressed," with the peasants, the provincials, and even the slaves.

The agrarian laws of Tiberius.
133 B.C.

Insight into the deplorable condition of society, together with a fixed resolve to regenerate it, led Tiberius, who was nine years older than his brother, to become a tribune of the plebs for the year 133 B.C. His mother and kinsmen encouraged him in the work of reform; the consul Mucius Scævola, the most eminent jurist of the age, approved his plan. He proposed to reënact the agrarian laws of Licinius and Sextius as follows: —

P. 86.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 9–13; Plutarch, *Ti. Gracchus*, 8 ff; Livy (epitome) lviii.

No one shall have the use of more than five hundred jugera of the public land.

No one shall pasture more than a hundred cattle or five hundred sheep on the public land.

He added as a third clause a law passed after the time of Licinius: —

Of the laborers on any farm, a certain proportion shall be freemen.

To these clauses he joined the following: —

The sons — not exceeding two — of present occupiers

may each hold two hundred and fifty jugera of public land.

A committee of three, appointed by the tribes, shall divide the surplus among the needy in lots of thirty jugera each.

Opposition.

His plan was to rescue as many families as possible from poverty and idleness and by substituting independent peasants for slaves, to lay anew and solidly the economic foundation of society. The poor were enthusiastic for the measure. But the rich, who for generations had bought, sold, and bequeathed the public land, like private property, declared the bill a scheme of robbery. As these lands were scattered over the whole peninsula, supporters and opponents of the measure flocked to Rome from every quarter, and excited the city with their violent contentions.

Veto.

When Tiberius brought his proposal before the tribes, he commended it to the rich by an appeal to their reason: Make this trifling sacrifice for the good of the republic, in return for which the increased strength of the peasant soldiery will assure you the mastery of the world. But argument and eloquence could not overcome their narrow selfishness. They induced Octavius, a tribune, to veto the measure of his colleague, and thus prevented it from passing.

P. 89.

Tiberius begins the revolution.

Two courses were now open to Tiberius: he might abide his time, gather influence, and after the prescribed ten years, offer himself again for the tribunate according to law; or, violating the constitution, he might depose the obstinate colleague, and immediately pass the bill. If the first alternative gave little promise of success, at least it would have been the Roman way; but his Greek political ideas and the pressing need of reform decided him in favor of the second. In fact he could not resist the voice of the revolution which called him to leadership. The tribes deposed Octavius; a freedman of Tiberius pulled the

P. 88.

ex-tribune from the rostrum, and the revolution of a hundred years began. The aim of this revolution was to substitute the assembly for the senate, — democracy for aristocracy; it was to end in the establishment of the imperial government.

A mob of senators kills him.

His measure then passed without opposition, and was so well carried out that after four years the census roll, which had long been diminishing, showed an increase of nearly eighty thousand citizens fit for military service. But the nobles threatened to prosecute him on his retirement from office; and this menace decided him to offer himself for immediate reëlection to the tribunate, — another unconstitutional step. On election day his peasant supporters were busy with their harvests; and when the voting began, a crowd of senators and other opponents of the reformer, led by Scipio Nasica, dispersed the assembly. Two of the colleagues of Tiberius, turning traitor, killed him with clubs. With similar weapons the senatorial party murdered three hundred of his followers, and threw their bodies into the Tiber. Thus the senate met unlawful procedure with mob violence, by which it encouraged the revolution.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 14 ff; Plutarch, *Ti. Gracchus* 16 ff.

Scipio Æmilianus.

The authorities tried to overawe the democrats by prosecuting even the obscure followers of Tiberius. On the return of Scipio Æmilianus from Spain, after the destruction of Numantia, he, too, disapproved the conduct of his brother-in-law, and somewhat later he put a stop to the distributions of land. This was at the request of the Italian allies, who did not share in the allotments but had some of their own land — or land they claimed as their own — seized by the distributing committee. While this sympathy with the Italians was praiseworthy, its effect was simply to bring reform to a standstill. Though Scipio

P. 127.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 19.

knew something of the danger which threatened society, he had not the courage of a reformer. The people, who had often supported him for office against the wishes of the senate, were disappointed to find him using his influence as a prop to the nobility; so when he suddenly died, they shed no tears over their former favorite.

The democratic programme.

The democratic leaders soon regained courage. Elected to the consulship, Fulvius Flaccus, an ardent supporter of the Gracchi, proposed to win the Italians to the land law by giving them the citizenship. This offer they would gladly have accepted, had not the senate put a stop to the measure. Another leader passed a law permitting the people to reëlect a tribune in case of a lack of candidates. More important still, Gaius Gracchus was coming to the front. When the people heard him defending a friend in the law-court, they were wild with delight; for they saw that other orators were mere children compared with him, and they felt that his magnificent talents were to be used in their behalf. For a time he served as quæstor in Sardinia, and avoided politics when at home, but his fate called him to finish a brother's work; he dreamed that Tiberius appeared to him one night and said, "Why hesitate, Gaius? it is your destiny, as mine, to live and die for the people."

Gaius Gracchus. Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 21 ff; Plutarch, *G. Gracchus*.

Gaius tribune of the plebs, 123–122 B.C.

He was candidate for the tribuneship for the year 123 B.C. Though the nobles opposed him, all Italy gathered to his support; on election day the people overflowed the Campus Martius and shouted their wishes from the house-tops. When his year of office had expired, they reëlected him to a second term.

He organizes a revolutionary party.

As his brother had failed through reliance on the peasants, who could rarely leave their work for politics, one of his first objects was to secure a faithful body of supporters

such as might always be on hand. For this purpose he passed a law providing for the monthly distribution of public grain among the citizens at half the market price. In doing this he introduced no new principle; for the senate had often supplied the populace with cheap or free grain, and each noble supported a throng of clients. He merely detached the people from their several patrons and enlisted them in the support of his reforms. Thus he organized the army of the revolution, which even the strongest emperors could not disband. His system wrought mischief in draining the treasury and in encouraging idleness; the completion of his great reforms, however, would probably have corrected the evil.

P. 149.

P. 276.

AN OLD SHEPHERDESS

(Palace of the Conservatori, Rome; found on the Esquiline.)

Next he formed of the knights a rank wholly distinct from the senatorial nobility, and won them to himself by making them alone eligible to the juries in place of the senators, who had corrupted the courts. As Gaius himself had the power to say who of the knights should be jurors, he probably selected only men of good character and held them responsible. But when his death freed them from

He wins the knights. P. 141.

Pp. 133, 137.

control, they showed themselves more corrupt than the senators had ever been. It was in the interest of the knights, too, that he let out the revenues from the province of Asia to contractors. Hitherto it had paid a fixed sum each year; now the act of Gaius delivered it over to the publicans. Had he lived, he might in time have remedied this abuse; but history condemns him for staking the happiness of the provincials, whom he doubtless loved, on his perilous game of politics. He was boldly concentrating all his resources, and gathering supporters for the one measure on which he had set his heart, — the enfranchisement of all the Italians. This chief point in his policy we shall consider later.

P. 132.

Cf. Plutarch, *G. Gracchus*, 6.

P. 158.

His great administrative ability.

Meantime we see his hands busy in every part of the state and empire. He passed laws to prevent the drafting of boys under military age; to supply the troops with clothes at the public expense; to hinder the senate from appointing favorites to governorships of the best provinces; to plant colonies in Italy and the provinces, in which all Italians who took part should receive the Roman citizenship. He built roads and public granaries; "and he made himself director and superintendent for carrying all these measures into effect. Though engaged in so many great undertakings, he never wearied, but with wonderful activity and labor he effected every single object as if he had for the time no other occupation, so that even those who thoroughly hated and feared him were struck with amazement at the rapidity and perfect execution of all that he undertook. But the people looked with admiration on the man himself, seeing him attended by crowds of building contractors, artificers, ambassadors, magistrates, soldiers, and learned men, to all of whom he was easy of access; and while he maintained his dignity, he was affable to all,

Plutarch, *G. Gracchus*, 6.

and adapted his behavior to the condition of every individual, and so proved the falsehood of those who called him tyrannical, or arrogant, or violent." He was even a greater administrator than orator. It is astonishing to see the office of tribune, once so insignificant, become for a time the controlling power of the state and empire.

His plan of government. Botsford, *Greece*, p. 177.

Gaius had thought out a complete plan of reform. For the government, he would have in the tribunate an absolute ministry, like the office of general at Athens under Pericles, dependent only on the will of the people, — a ministry which should control the composition of the courts, and the decrees of the senate, select candidates for the high offices, and watch over the entire administration. He would plant industrial as well as farming colonies in Italy and the provinces, to restore to them the prosperity which the nobles had destroyed. He would give the full citizenship to the Latins and at least the suffrage to the Italian allies.

P. 157.

The aristocrats kill him. Pp. 136, 149.

His great mistake was in supposing the city mob to be the Roman people, — to have the virtue necessary for the support of his reforms. Angered by his proposal to give the franchise to the Italians, it defeated this measure and failed to elect him to a third term. The knights, too, deserted him. When the senate tried to prevent him from planting a colony at Carthage, both parties resorted to violence. The consul Opimius, armed by the senate with absolute power,[1] overthrew the Gracchan party, and killed

[1] In the Second Punic War the dictatorship had fallen into disuse, to be revived some time after the Gracchi by Sulla. Meanwhile the senate found a new way of proclaiming martial law; by passing the resolution, "Let the consuls see that the state suffer no harm," it conferred upon the chief magistrates a power equal to that of dictator. Opimius was the first to receive this absolute authority from the senate; Cicero held it also in the conspiracy of Catiline; p. 182.

Gaius, with three thousand of his followers. But the aristocracy was broken forever; the authority it was to exercise from time to time rested on the capricious favor of the rabble.

The character of the Gracchi.

All agree that while the motives of the Gracchi were good, their methods were violent. It is commonly said, too, that they showed the zeal of heroes and martyrs rather than the wise patience of statesmen. We must grant, however, that as no material existed from which a party of reform could be organized, revolution was the only possible remedy for the intolerable condition of the Roman world. In further justification of their policy, it is fair to add that the imperial government to which their revolution led, and of which Gaius sketched the plan, was far better than the anarchy into which the senate was plunging the world. "The people, though humbled and depressed for a time, soon showed how much they desired and regretted the Gracchi. For they had statues of the two brothers made and set up in public places, and the spots on which they fell were declared sacred ground, to which the people brought all the first-fruits of the seasons, and offered sacrifices there and worshipped just as at the temples of the gods." They were right in enshrining the sons of Cornelia as the noblest characters the history of their country had brought to light.

Plutarch, *G. Gracchus*, 18.

The senate plays the demagogue.

The death of Gaius restored the senate to power, — not, however, to its former independent position, for henceforth it could maintain its leadership only by feeding the rabble. The insolence of the aristocracy stirred up enemies; at the same time it was too weak to command respect at home or to protect the empire. These fundamental defects were already undermining the republic, preparatory to the founding of a juster and more efficient

Pp. 149, 156.

government. Tiberius Gracchus had made the people conscious of their power; Gaius had organized the army of revolution, which could tear down, while it lacked the wisdom and the virtue of a builder. A ministry which rested on the fickle mob could save neither state nor society. The work of establishing in the army a solid foundation for the new government remained to his successor, Gaius Marius.

Gaius Marius.

This man, a native of Arpinum in the hills of Latium, was the son of poor parents. In boyhood "his mode of life was rude, when contrasted with the artificial fashions of a city, but temperate and in accordance with the old Roman discipline." "As soon as he became old enough to bear arms, he employed himself not in the study of Greek eloquence or in learning the refinements of the city, but in military service; and thus by the strictest discipline his excellent genius soon attained full vigor." "He had industry, integrity, great knowledge of war, and a spirit undaunted in the field; he was temperate in private life, superior to pleasure and riches, and ambitious only for glory."

Plutarch, *Marius*, 3.

YOUTH READING AT A BOOK-CASE
(Relief on a sarcophagus.)

Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, 63.

His early career.

As tribune of the plebs, 119 B.C., he offended the nobles by passing a law for checking bribery at the polls; and he angered the rabble by opposing a bill for the distribution of cheap grain. Himself a peasant, he stood forth as a

protector of his own class. His policy was that of Manius Curius Dentatus and of Cato. In addition to a tribuneship of the plebs and of the soldiers, "he attained other offices in succession, and conducted himself so well in his public duties that he was always deemed worthy of a higher station than he had reached." As proprætor he ruled Farther Spain, and "cleared all the robber establishments out of his province, which was still an uncivilized country." On his return to Rome he married Julia of the illustrious house of the Cæsars; and when, in 109 B.C., the consul Metellus went to Africa to war against the Numidians, he took Marius with him as lieutenant.

P. 144 f.

Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, 63.

Plutarch, *Marius*, 6.

The Jugurthine War, 112–106 B.C.

P. 123.

Nothing shows the weakness and depravity of the aristocracy more clearly than this war. Jugurtha, grandson of Masinissa, attempted to oust his two cousins from their share of the government of Numidia. Though the senate intervened, Jugurtha by a free use of gold bought off one of its commissions after another. Meantime he bribed men to kill a cousin; he then waged war upon the other, took him captive, and tortured him to death. When commercial interests led Rome to war against him, he bribed the first commander to withdraw from Africa, and by corrupting the officers of the second, he compelled the surrender of their army, and sent it under the yoke. In the interval between these campaigns, the villain even ventured to Rome, where he purchased friends and assassinated a rival. As he set out for home from the capital of the world, he is said to have exclaimed, "A city for sale and doomed to destruction, if only a purchaser appears!" Such was the state of affairs when Metellus, a man of energy and of excellent character, the best noble of his time, took command. He reduced the army to discipline and defeated Jugurtha; after which, Marius, elected consul, superseded

Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, 27–38.

109–108 B.C.

107–105 B.C.

his former commander and ended the war. Lucius Cornelius Sulla, a young aristocrat who was quæstor under Marius, took Jugurtha captive and brought him to Rome, where he perished in prison.

P. 131.

The Cimbri and the Teutons.

Marius had not yet arrived at Rome when the people reëlected him consul to protect the country from an inroad of barbarians. Two powerful German tribes, the Cimbri[1] and the Teutons, moved westward from the region of the Danube into Transalpine Gaul and assailed the new province Rome had established on the coast between the Alps and the Pyrenees. In the course of this movement, the barbarians defeated six Roman armies in succession. They threatened to invade Italy; but a delay of three years, during which they wandered about in Gaul and Spain, gave the Romans time to prepare. Reëlected consul year after year, Marius busied himself with reorganizing and training the army. When at length the Teutons were ready to cross the Alps into Italy, he met them at Aquæ Sextiæ in southern Gaul, and annihilated their great host. In like manner he and his colleague, Catulus, in the following year, slaughtered the Cimbri at Vercellæ in northern Italy, after they had succeeded in crossing the Alps. These decisive victories saved the civilization of the Roman empire from being overwhelmed by the barbarians.

Plutarch, *Marius*, 11.

102 B.C.

The reorganization of the army.

But this success was won by an important departure from republican principles. Heretofore the soldiers possessed at least a small amount of property, which attached them loyally to the state; but as there was a lack of men thus qualified for service, Marius accepted volunteers from the lowest class of rural laborers, including those who were entirely without property. Such persons now sought a live-

Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, 86; Plutarch, *Marius*, 9.

[1] Though some believe the Cimbri to have been Celts, the better authorities favor the view presented in the text.

lihood in military service, and looked upon dismissal as a misfortune. As no tie of property bound them to the state, they began to place all their hopes in their commander and were ready to follow him in any undertaking. At the same time Marius dispensed with the Roman cavalry, an aristocratic body, for which he substituted the more efficient and more obedient horsemen of the allies. He improved the legion by grouping three maniples in a cohort, which he employed as the tactical unit. All the soldiers were now equipped alike, and depended for their rank and honor, not on length of service as formerly, but on the favor of the commander. By these changes he prepared an army which would support its commander in any ambitious design, even against the senate and the people. It is of great political importance, too, that in defiance of the constitution, the people elected Marius to the consulship six times in rapid succession. With his absolute command of the army he acquired, by this long continuance in office, a power little less than that of king.

P. 140.

P. 46 f.

P. 88.

107, 104–100 B.C.

In his sixth consulship, 100 B.C., he allied himself with Saturninus, a tribune, and Glaucia, a prætor, to carry a law for planting colonies of his veterans in the provinces. Glaucia was a witty orator, Saturninus a bold revolutionist. When some of the tribunes vetoed the bill, he snatched it from the clerk and himself continued the reading. As his colleagues ordered the voting stopped, he drove them from the rostra. Then the opposing party declared they heard a clap of thunder, — an ill omen which should have dissolved the assembly. "Take care," Saturninus replied, "or the thunder will be followed by hail!" In his support, the rural party then drove their opponents — the rabble — from the assembly and passed the measure. Though Marius had his heart set upon the plan, he dis-

Marius allies himself with Saturninus and Glaucia.

Livy (epitome) lxix; Plutarch, *Marius*, 28–30; Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 28–33.

approved the illegality and the violence with which it was carried.

Violent death of Saturninus and Glaucia. P. 75.

On the day for the election of the next consuls, when Glaucia presented himself as the candidate of the rural plebs, a fight between them and the city rabble broke up the assembly. Then the senators and the knights called upon Marius as chief magistrate to put down the sedition. Reluctantly he armed some of his forces to defend the constitution against Saturninus and Glaucia, his former associates. After some time they surrendered "on the public faith"; and though their enemies demanded their death, "he placed them in the senate-house with the intention of treating them in a more legal manner. The mob considered this a mere pretext. It tore the tiles off the roof and stoned them to death, including a quæstor, a tribune, and a prætor, who were still wearing their insignia of office."

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 32.

The meaning of this violence.

"Freedom, democracy, laws, reputation, official position were no longer of any use to anybody, since even the tribunician office, which had been devised for the restraint of wrong-doers and for the protection of the plebeians, and was sacred and inviolable, now committed such outrages, and suffered such indignities."

Appian, i. 33.

The failure of Marius.

In favor of Saturninus and Glaucia, it must be said that they had at their back the rural plebeians, who, though revolutionary, were the only morally sound party in the state, while the senate depended upon the unprincipled city rabble. The revolutionary leaders, although baser and more violent than the Gracchi, were carrying out the work of those reformers. Had Marius been as great a statesman as general, he would have cast his lot with them, and from the sedition of the Forum he would have emerged a king. The time was ripe for the change; the interest of the empire demanded it. But lacking political wisdom, he

P. 149.

P. 159.

failed to read the signs of the time. In fact too great success was rapidly undermining his hardy, peasant character. He missed his destiny; and the fate of Rome passed into other hands.

AN OLD FISHERMAN
(Vatican Museum, Rome.)

The senate in difficulties. P. 156.

The senate found itself encompassed on all sides by enemies: the knights, who controlled the courts, terrorized it with their prosecutions; the mob breathed jealousy and hatred while it clamored for bread; the rural plebeians threatened at any moment to invade the Forum and trample upon the government; at the same time the oppressed Italians were on the point of rebellion. These conditions led some of the more liberal aristocrats to think of winning the support of the Italians by granting them the citizenship. The leader of this movement, Marcus Livius Drusus, a young man of great wealth and illustrious family, became tribune of the plebs in 91 B.C. He proposed cheap corn, colonization, the division of the courts between an equal number of senators and knights, and the enfranchisement of the Italians. Though by this variety of measures he intended to attract all classes of citizens, all found in them something to condemn. They passed with difficulty, but

P. 155.

Marcus Livius Drusus. 91 B.C.

Livy (epitome) lxxi.; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 13–14; Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 35–37.

were annulled by the senate; and soon afterward Drusus was murdered. A law was then passed which threatened with prosecution any one who dared aid the Italians in acquiring the citizenship.

The Varian law.

The disappointment of the Italians. Diodorus xxxvii; Livy (epitome) lxxii–lxxvi; Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 38–53.

The death of Drusus and the passing of this act deprived the Italians of their last hope of obtaining their rights by peaceable means. It was not that they wished to vote at Rome; for most of them lived too far away for this. But they needed the protection which citizenship gave: their soldiers desired humane treatment at the hands of the commanders; in the affairs of peace, they asked for the same rights of property and of trade which the Romans had always enjoyed; but most of all, they desired Roman officials and private citizens to cease insulting, scourging, and killing them for amusement or spite. So much citizenship would have meant to them.

The Social War, 90–88 B.C.

Accordingly, in 90 B.C., the allies, chiefly those of Sabellian race, revolted, and founded a new state. As their capital, they selected Corfinium in the country of the Pælignians, and named it Italica. In the main they patterned their government after that of Rome; they gave the citizenship to all who took part with them in the war; and they aimed to annex the whole of Italy. As the opposing forces were divided into several small armies, the military operations were intricate. Though fighting against great odds, the Italians were so successful the first year that, near its close, the consul Lucius Julius Cæsar felt compelled to make sure of those who were still faithful by giving them the citizenship. Soon afterward another law offered the same reward to those who would return to their allegiance. "Accordingly the gates of Roman citizenship, which had so long remained closed against entreaty, now suddenly opened when the sword knocked at them." These con-

Mommsen, *Rome*, bk. IV. ch. vii.

cessions not only prevented the revolt from extending itself, but so weakened it that, in another year, the Romans broke the strength of the allies.

The Italians as Roman citizens.

In addition to local self-government in their own towns, — municipia, — the Italians now possessed the Roman citizenship. But they were degraded by being enrolled in eight new tribes, which voted *after* the old thirty-five. Too far away to enjoy all their privileges, they envied and hated the city plebs, who in turn despised the municipals, and still looked upon themselves as the only qualified Romans, — qualified for receiving cheap corn and witnessing free shows. Had the Italians secured representation in the senate, their fresh blood and superior virtue might have saved the republic. But as matters were, they still regarded the senate and the rabble as their oppressors, and they therefore welcomed the strong man, who, as absolute master, should make these enemies his footstool. Hence the idea of monarchy grew apace.

P. 63.

Pp. 135, 156.

P. 135.

A new era in politics.

Accordingly politics took a new turn; the questions of the future were, who was to be the man of power, and how much authority was he to snatch from the senate. The first conflict came between the veteran Marius and Sulla, his quæstor of the Jugurthine War. The latter, patrician though poor, was a lover of vice and of low company, but endowed with a remarkable talent for war, diplomacy, and politics. "His eyes were an uncommonly pure and piercing blue, which the color of his face rendered still more terrible, as it was spotted with rough, red blotches interspersed with white, . . . a mulberry besprinkled with meal." Success as a general in the Social War brought him the consulship in 88 B.C.

P. 162.

Plutarch, *Sulla*, 2.

Conflict between Marius and Sulla.

In this year the attention of Rome was called to the East, where Mithridates, the able and ambitious king of

Pontus, a country on the south shore of the Black Sea, had rapidly extended his power, and was driving the Romans from Asia Minor. Naturally Sulla, as consul, received the command against this dreaded enemy. But Marius, who though old and fat was still vigorous, wanted the place that he might regain the influence he had lost. He found a helper in Sulpicius, tribune of the plebs, the "grandest and most tragic orator" Cicero ever heard. Supported by the Italians, to whom he promised enrolment in the old tribes, and by a band of armed followers, this man violently forced through the assembly a resolution for the appointment of Marius. Sulla, still consul, led his army to Rome and settled the question with the sword. Sulpicius was killed; Marius fled to Africa. This was the first time the army appeared on the political stage; it marked a crisis in the history of the republic. The leadership of the revolution passed from the tribunes to the generals. Henceforth the sword was to arbitrate between political rivals; and the successful commander was to rule the Roman world. After restoring the authority of the senate and giving it complete power over the acts of the tribunes, Sulla proceeded with his army to the war against Mithridates.

Sulpicius, tribune in 88 B.C. Plutarch, *Marius*, 35.

No sooner had he left Italy than an armed conflict broke out between the consuls, Octavius and Cinna, over the enrolment of the Italians in the old tribes. In this struggle ten thousand men lost their lives. Octavius, leader of the aristocracy, drove Cinna, champion of the Italians, from the city. The senate deposed the popular leader from the consulship. But Cinna quickly gathered an army of Italians, recalled Marius from banishment, and following the example of Sulla, marched against Rome. Marius returned from an exile which had been to

Marius and Cinna, 87 B.C.

him a series of adventures and of hair-breadth escapes. In his old age, the greatness of his character had changed to rabid fury against the aristocrats. "Filthy and long-haired, he marched through the towns presenting a pitiable appearance, descanting on his battles, on his victories over the Cimbri, and his six consulships," and with grim determination promised the Italians their rights. His resolution was unbroken; for he was superstitious, and he remembered, so at least he asserted, that when he was a boy, an eagle's nest containing seven little ones had fallen into his lap, — an omen that he should be consul seven times. The two revolutionary leaders entered the city with their bands of Italians, foreigners, and runaway slaves. They killed Octavius and all the eminent aristocrats; for five days they hunted down their opponents, massacred them, and plundered their property. They gave the Italians their rights. Marius received his seventh consulship, but died soon afterward from drinking.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 67.

Plutarch, *Marius*, 36

The story of Marius and Cinna seems like the last act of a terrible drama. By the murder of Tiberius Gracchus and his followers, the senate had stained itself with blood; thence it advanced to the greater crime of killing Gaius Gracchus and his three thousand supporters. This base and murderous policy, further developed in the war with Jugurtha and in the events which cluster about the Italian revolt, roused violent enemies; and finally Marius appears like an avenging Fury of the Gracchan party, to scourge the aristocracy for its enormous sins.

The revolution progresses like a drama.

Blood and violence settle nothing; what has seemed the end of strife is but the beginning of civil wars and massacres.

Meantime the province of Asia welcomed Mithridates as a saviour from Roman avarice; by order of the king,

The first war with Mithridates, 88–84 B.C.

eighty thousand Italians throughout that country were murdered in a single day. Greece revolted to him; his armies occupied Thrace and Macedonia. Sulla then took the field; and "within less than three years he had killed a hundred and sixty thousand men, recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other countries that Mithridates had previously occupied, taken the king's fleet

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 76.

Roman Soldiers Marching

away from him, and from such vast possessions restricted him to his paternal kingdom alone." As he saw that his opponents at home were revelling in power, he patched up a hasty treaty of alliance with the king, and "returned with a large and well-disciplined army, devoted to him and elated by its exploits. He had abundance of ships, money, and apparatus suitable for all emergencies, and was an object of terror to his enemies." A civil war broke out

83 B.C.

between him and the democratic party, which still held the government. At the very beginning, Cinna was killed in a mutiny; and the command of the popular forces passed to Carbo and the son of Gaius Marius as consuls.

Civil war between Sulla and the democrats.

Sulla gained ground by treachery, corruption, and diplomacy, as well as by force; the fox in him was more dangerous than the lion. In despair Carbo fled to Africa; the young Marius was blockaded in Præneste. Then Pontius, leader of the Samnites, who acted in unison with the popular party, with seventy thousand hill-men, swooped down upon Rome, — "the last blind rush of the Sabellian bull on the lair of the wolves." They longed to destroy the tyrant city; but Sulla met them outside the Colline Gate, in the fiercest battle of the war. Here the aristocratic cause triumphed; and Rome gained her last victory over Samnium. Although in Africa Carbo continued the struggle, and in Spain Sertorius, a far abler man, in Italy Marius committed suicide and his party collapsed. By wholesale massacres the victor nearly exterminated the Samnite race, and thus wrung from Italy the strength and the soul of freedom.

The success of Sulla.

Appian i. 92.

Beesly, *Gracchi, Marius, and Sulla*, p. 185.

P. 176.

The elder Marius, originally sound, had degenerated in his old age; Sulla, though perhaps he cared for nothing but pleasure, showed himself, nevertheless, from the beginning an expert in cool-headed, cynical villany. When his army had given him the mastery of Rome, he proceeded with reckless butchery to destroy the opponents of his party. Day by day he posted a list of his victims — "the proscribed" — whom any one might slay and receive therefor a reward. The goods of the proscribed were confiscated, and their children disfranchised. The number of persons thus murdered at Rome amounted to nearly five thousand, including many senators and knights. Though

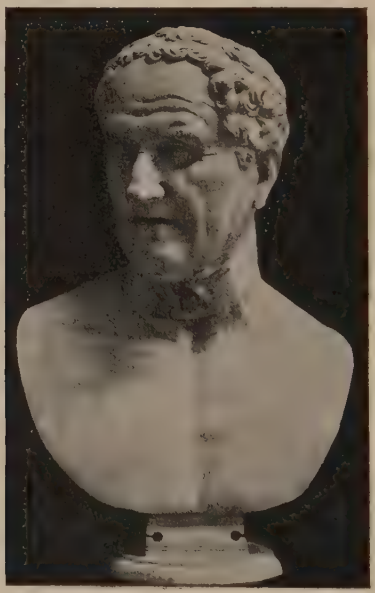
The proscriptions of Sulla.

Livy (epitome) lxxxix.; Plutarch, *Sulla*, 30 ff; Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 95 ff.

some died for their political attachments, many were the victims of private hatred, and many more were killed for the sake of their wealth. At the same time, murder and confiscation were carried on over all Italy. No one dared shelter a victim, not even children their parents. This Satanic law, while branding kindness and affection as criminal, placed a premium upon malice, greed, and murder.

Sulla restores the aristocracy.

After a time Sulla assumed the dictatorship, an office long disused, and put his hand to the work of restoring the aristocratic constitution. As many senators had perished through war and proscription, he permitted the tribal assembly to elect three hundred new members from his partisans among the knights. By enacting that no measure should be brought before the people without the consent of the senate, — a repeal of the Hortensian Law, — he gave that body control over the assemblies. This measure, with another which disqualified the tribunes from holding higher offices, rendered the tribunate impotent and unattractive to the ambitious. As a consequence the assembly



"SULLA"
(Vatican Museum, Rome.)

P. 88.

of tribes became insignificant as compared with that of the centuries.

The courts and the magistrates.

He increased the number of quæstors and made this office the regular stepping-stone to the senate. Instead of six prætors there were to be eight, two of whom were still to have the civil jurisdiction, while the remaining six were to preside over criminal courts, several of which were newly created. The juries of these courts were to be made up wholly of senators, as before the time of Gaius Gracchus. A man had to be quæstor before he could be prætor, and prætor before consul, and he was not permitted to accept the same office within ten years. The prætors and the consuls could hold military commands only in exceptional cases; their authority, wholly civil, was limited to Italy south of the Rubicon. But on the expiration of their office, they became promagistrates with military authority for an additional year in the provinces.

P. 130.

P. 156.

Pp. 86, 139.

P. 130.

The retirement and death of Sulla.

On lands made vacant in Italy by war, massacre, and proscription, Sulla settled his hundred and twenty thousand devoted veterans; and for his personal security he enfranchised ten thousand slaves of the proscribed, and named them all, after himself, Cornelii. After completing these arrangements, he abdicated the dictatorship, to the surprise of all, and retired to private life and to the enjoyment of literature. Soon afterward he died, and was buried with pomp and splendor such as nations rarely display in honor even of their kings.

The character of Sulla's legislation.

His increase in the number of courts and of magistrates was demanded by the growing business of government. This reform, therefore, remained permanent. The distinction, too, between the civil magistrates and the military promagistrates, between Italy and the provinces, was a great gain, afterward emphasized by the imperial govern-

ment. In most other respects, his legislation was in the interest of his party, and he furnished no guarantee for its continuance. Indeed, his own example of an individual exercising absolute power with reckless cruelty was precedent enough for the overthrow of this very constitution. Aristocracy and democracy were now alike impossible. Perhaps he knew this, and expected his work to be but temporary, — to permit him a few years of quiet enjoyment. However that may be, he was not yet in his grave when his artificial government, built upon so much blood, began to totter.

Sources

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CHAPTER VIII

THE REVOLUTION — (II) THE MILITARY POWER IN CONFLICT WITH THE REPUBLIC. POMPEY, CÆSAR, AND OCTAVIUS (79–27 B.C.)

THIRD PERIOD OF THE REPUBLIC — SECOND EPOCH

"Another age in civil wars will soon be spent and worn,
And by her native strength our Rome be wrecked and overborne,
That Rome the Marsians could not crush, who border on our lands,
Nor the shock of threatening Porsena with his Etruscan bands,
Nor Capua's strength that rivalled ours, nor Spartacus the stern,
Nor the faithless Allobrogian, who still for change doth yearn.
Ay, what Germania's blue-eyed youth quelled not with ruthless sword,
Nor Hannibal by our great sires detested and abhorred,
We shall destroy by impious hands imbrued in brother's gore
And wild beasts of the wood shall range our native land once more."

HORACE, *Epodes*, 16.

The new character of the revolution.

By appealing to arms in a political dispute, Sulla had placed the military power above the constitution. After his time the political parties and the government itself were frequently at the mercy of the generals. Among the rising officers of the army Gnæus Pompey seemed most fitted to be the heir of Sulla's policy and the defender of his constitution.

P. 168.

Pompey.

While still a young man Pompey had raised an army by his own means, and had joined Sulla in his war upon the democrats. He then went to Sicily to suppress the popular party in that island. There replying to the complaints of some Sicilian allies, he sounded the keynote of the future

P. 171.

Plutarch, *Pompey*, 10.

—"Do you cite laws to us who have our swords by our sides?" When he returned victorious, Sulla hailed him as "the Great." Undoubtedly the commander admired the able officer, and at the same time thought it well to flatter him. Soon after Sulla's death Pompey found another opportunity to prove his faithfulness to his master; for Lepidus, consul in 78 B.C., tried to do away with the new government, and the next year resorted to arms against it. In helping suppress this rebellion, Pompey distinguished himself still further as a champion of the aristocracy against the democrats. A good general was now needed in Spain; and the senate, according to Sulla's arrangements, should have sent thither as proconsul a man who had already been consul. But as it could find no able person with this qualification, it gave the proconsulship to Pompey, who had not filled even the office of quæstor. In violating the constitution at one point in order to protect it at another, the aristocrats showed themselves wretchedly incompetent.

POMPEY THE GREAT
(National Museum, Naples; found at Pompeii.)

P. 173. Cicero, *Manilian Law*, 21.

Sertorius.

From 82 B.C.

Plutarch, *Sertorius*,

Sertorius, the ablest Roman of his time, had already ruled Spain for several years. He had a senate of his own, and as successor to the democratic magistrates whom Sulla had overthrown, he claimed to represent the true gov-

ernment of Rome. He was perhaps the first Roman to sympathize thoroughly with the governed, to make their interests his chief care, to give them the genuine benefits of Latin civilization. From love and admiration the natives called him Hannibal. With the small forces at his command he routed the Roman armies sent against him, including that of Pompey. Not till Sertorius was murdered by one of his own generals did Pompey succeed in putting an end to the war.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 112.

76 B.C.

Meantime the Roman world was drifting into anarchy. While Sertorius threatened the rule of the senate, Mithridates, in alliance with him, was again at war in the East; at the same time pirates swarmed undisturbed over the whole Mediterranean; in Italy more than a hundred thousand slaves were in revolt. This insurrection was the work of Spartacus, a gladiator, who had escaped from a "training school" in Capua. For two years he defied Rome and overthrew her armies. Then the prætor Marcus Licinius Crassus, with eight legions, defeated and killed him and dispersed his army. At the last moment slight aid was given by Pompey, who had just returned from Spain.

Spartacus.

Pp. 170, 179.

73–71 B.C.

Plutarch, *Crassus*, 8–11.

Crassus, too, had joined Sulla in the civil war, and had amassed a colossal fortune, chiefly by buying up the estates of the proscribed. His wealth, together with his success in the war with Spartacus, brought him great political influence, and made him a rival of Pompey. These two generals were eager for the consulship, and as the senate hesitated on the ground that Pompey had not yet been quæstor or prætor, they turned for support to the people, promising them a repeal of Sulla's constitutional laws. Elected consuls in 70 B.C., they restored the power of the tribunes; they divided the juries equally among the senators, knights, and tribal officers; and under their influence the censors of the

Pompey and Crassus, consuls, 70 B.C.

Plutarch, *Pompey*, 21 f; *Crassus*, 12.

P. 173.

year purged the senate of some of the worst partisans of Sulla. Thus the aristocratic government, after standing but ten years, was overthrown by the man its founder had styled "the Great." This was a victory, not so much of the democracy, as of the army · for the tribunes when restored began to attach themselves to the service of the great military leaders.

Character of Pompey.

Pompey was a better Marius. A talented commander, honest and humane, he was no statesman. Conservative on principle, he had aided the new democratic movement without taking the lead of it. Hence, as he had no party at his back, he was compelled, at the end of his consulship, to retire to private life. Attached to the aristocratic constitution as a whole, yet neglectful of its details, in politics he represented the military power now sleeping, but soon to awaken at the call of a tribune.

P. 160.

The Gabinian Law, 67 B.C.

The pirates in their thousand ships were seizing cities, capturing Roman nobles and magistrates, whom they held for ransom, and by cutting off the grain supply were threatening Rome with famine. As the senate seemed powerless to check the evil, Gabinius, a tribune, proposed to give Pompey for three years absolute command of the Mediterranean together with a strip of its coast, fifty miles wide, as far as the Roman empire extended. He was to have a vast number of ships and men and could draw on the treasury without limit. Though the senate opposed the law because it gave so much power to one man, the people carried it with enthusiasm. Within forty days after his armament was ready, Pompey cleared the sea of pirates. He destroyed their hive in Cilicia and made of that country a Roman province. This success is an indication, not of genius, but of what Rome could accomplish with her vast resources rightly managed. The appointment itself was an

Plutarch, *Pompey*, 24.

admission that the senate was unable to meet the trivial emergency of putting down the pirates; a temporary monarchy had to be created for the purpose, or rather a division of power between the senate and the commander. This arrangement, which we may term a dyarchy — rule of two — was to become the chief principle of the imperial government.

P. 210.

Mithridates.

P. 177.

For several years Lucullus, a luxurious noble, had been conducting the war against Mithridates, king of Pontus, with moderate success. This king was a remarkable person. "He was always high-spirited and indomitable even in misfortunes. Until finally overthrown he left no avenue of attack against the Romans untried. He made alliances with the Samnites and the Gauls, and he sent legates to Sertorius in Spain. Though he was often wounded by enemies and conspirators, he never desisted from anything on that account, even when he was an old man. . . . He was bloodthirsty and cruel to all — the slayer of his mother, his brother, three sons, and three daughters. His frame was large . . . and so strong that he rode horseback and hurled the javelin to the last, and could ride a thousand furlongs a day, changing horses at intervals. He used to drive a chariot with sixteen horses at once. In his study of Greek, he became acquainted with the religious worship of Greece, and was fond of music." Before Lucullus could conquer him, a law of the tribune Manilius gave the command in the East to Pompey in addition to the power he already had. The new Roman commander easily drove the king from Pontus, the most of which he joined to the new province of Bithynia.

Appian, *Foreign Wars*, xii. 112.

The Manilian Law, 66 B.C. Cicero, *Manilian Law.*

Pompey's settlement of the East.

He then annexed Syria as a province to the empire, thus extending the dominion of Rome to the Euphrates. Taking advantage of a civil war in Judea, he subdued that coun-

try; in the temple at Jerusalem he entered the Holy of Holies and looked with wonder upon this shrine which contained no image. He left undisturbed a few small kingdoms in and about Asia Minor, whose rulers though allies in name were really vassals of Rome. With the great Parthian empire beyond the Euphrates, he made a treaty of friendship. Like Alexander the Great he founded many cities, whose Greek names show he intended that Hellenic civilization should control Rome's Eastern possessions. His careful organization of the newly acquired territory remained the basis of future arrangements. With her dependent allies and her provinces, Rome now occupied the entire circuit of the Mediterranean.

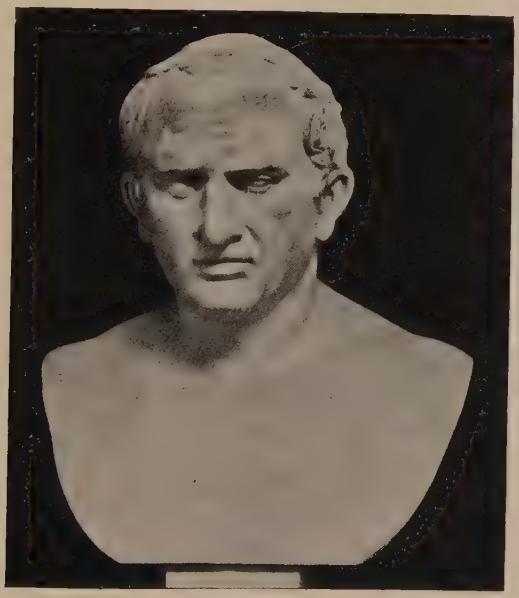
The conspiracy of Catiline, 63 B.C.

In the absence of Pompey, important events were taking place at Rome. Cicero, a native of Arpinum, the birthplace of Marius, became consul in 63 B.C. Though he was from a municipium and a man of moderate means, his brilliant oratory and his administrative ability won for him the highest offices at Rome. In his consulship a conspiracy, which for some time had been forming on a vast scale, threatened to destroy the government. The leader, "Lucius Catiline, was a man of noble birth and of eminent mental and personal endowments, but of a vicious and depraved disposition. His delight from his youth had been in civil commotions, bloodshed, robbery, and sedition; and in such scenes he had spent his early years. His constitution could endure hunger, want of sleep, and cold to a degree surpassing belief. His mind was daring, subtle, and versatile, capable of pretending or dissembling whatever he wished. Covetous of other men's property, he was prodigal of his own. With abundance of eloquence, he had little wisdom. His insatiable ambition was always pursuing extravagant, romantic, and unattainable objects." This picture by a

Plutarch, *Cicero.* Cicero, *Orations against Catiline;* Suetonius, *J. Cæsar*, 9; Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 2–7.

Sallust, *Catiline*, 5.

contemporary writer, though overdrawn, shows at least the kind of character the age could produce, — high personal and mental endowments combined with monstrous moral depravity. He attached to himself the most vicious and desperate men of Italy: the remnant of the Marian party, who sought justice for the murders and confiscations of



CICERO
(Vatican Museum, Rome.)

Sulla; the tools of that great aristocrat, now out of employment; his veterans, who had abandoned their farms in search of more exciting and more profitable work; and lastly, delinquent debtors, gamblers, and assassins. While the head of the conspiracy was at Rome, its members extended throughout the peninsula. When these anarchists

had their plans well laid for killing the magistrates and the nobles and for seizing the government, the vigilant consul detected their plot and denounced Catiline before the senate. The arch-conspirator fled to the army he had been preparing in Etruria, where he was soon afterward defeated and killed. Cicero arrested a few of Catiline's chief associates who remained in the city, and by virtue of the dictatorial power given him by the senate, put them to death without a trial.

P. 158, n. 1.

The policy of Cicero.

His success in saving the state from the anarchists made Cicero for a time the most eminent man in Rome. From mingled admiration and gratitude the people saluted him Father of his Country; and though he was a "new man," the senators recognized him as their leader. He loved his country well, and was strongly attached to the republican form of government. Hence he attempted to strengthen the republic by restoring to the knights and the senators the harmony Gaius Gracchus had broken. Such a remedy, even if practicable, could not long have saved the corrupt aristocracy. And in attempting to compromise the high ideals of the statesman with the base practice of politicians, Cicero found himself carried hither and thither by the shifting and uncertain political currents. Such in fact had become the condition of public affairs that the statesman, however grand, appears strangely dwarfed and out of place; for the age of generals had come, they were the only strong men and managed the politicians as their puppets. It was in vain, therefore, that Cicero hoped to make Pompey a defender of the constitution.

P. 86.

Plutarch, *Cicero*, 49.

P. 156.

P. 168.

Gaius Julius Cæsar.

Plutarch, *Cæsar*.

The future was to belong not to Cicero or even to Pompey, but to Gaius Julius Cæsar. He "was still a young man, but powerful in speech and action, daring in every way, ambitious of everything, and profuse beyond his

means in the pursuit of honors. While yet ædile and prætor, he had incurred great debts and had made himself wonderfully agreeable to the multitude, who always sing the praises of those who are lavish in expenditures." One of the noblest of the patricians, he was leader of the people, and in that capacity he restored to honor his uncle Marius, now the idealized hero of the commons. While advocating the rights of the governed, however, he aimed to secure a military command like that of Pompey; and in working for this end he showed little regard for moral or constitutional principles. For the present he joined himself to Crassus, whose wealth, ambition, and political incapacity he found useful.

Suetonius, *J. Cæsar.*

Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 1.

All were anxiously awaiting the return of Pompey from the East. While both parties claimed him, some feared he might overthrow the government by means of his army and make himself dictator, as Sulla had done. For a time he seems to have entertained this idea; but his affection for the constitution, together with a belief that his influence alone would bring him all the honor and power he needed, led him to disband his army and come to Rome as a private citizen. But he was bitterly disappointed. The senate, which had always distrusted him, hesitated to sanction his arrangements in the East. The great general found himself as helpless in politics as Marius had been. Thereupon Cæsar and Crassus came to his relief with a proposal that they three should act together for their mutual interests. This combination of the three men, though unofficial, is called the First Triumvirate. Pompey contributed to it his military prestige, Crassus the influence of his wealth, and Cæsar his commanding intelligence. According to agreement Cæsar received the consulship in 59 B.C., and in return secured from the people the ratifi-

The First Triumvirate — Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, 60 B.C.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 9; Plutarch, *Cæsar*, 13 f; Suetonius, *J. Cæsar*, 19 f.

P. 177.

cation of Pompey's Eastern arrangements. The tribune Clodius, acting as the tool of the triumvirs or at least under their protection, carried a decree for the banishment of Cicero, the strongest supporter of the republic, on the ground that in his consulship he had put citizens to death without a trial. The people soon recalled him, however, and restored him to honor.

58 B.C.

Cæsar proconsul of Gaul, 58–49 B.C.

Suetonius, *J. Cæsar*, 22, 24.

At the close of his term, Cæsar as proconsul received for five years the government of Cisalpine Gaul, Narbonensis, and Illyricum. He now held the kind of position for which he had long been striving. Before the end of his period of government the triumvirs renewed their alliance.[1] Cæsar was to have five more years of command in Gaul; Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls in 55 B.C., after which Pompey was to be proconsul of the two Spains and of Africa for five years, and Crassus was to receive the proconsulship of Syria. In this way these men divided among them the Roman world.

The Germans and the Helvetians threaten Rome.

Cæsar, *Commentaries on the Gallic War.*

Suetonius, *J. Cæsar*, 25.

P. 162.

In the history of the First Triumvirate the interest centres in Cæsar. Along the southern coast of what is now France, lay Narbonensis. North of this province were the still unconquered Gauls, chiefly of Celtic race, extending northward and westward to the coasts and eastward to the Rhine. In civilization these people were decidedly inferior to the Romans, but had learned to make their living chiefly by tilling the soil. East of the Rhine were the barbarous, half-nomadic Germans. A crisis in Rome's relation with these Northern peoples was now at hand, like that with which Marius had successfully grappled. A powerful German tribe under the chieftain Ariovistus had crossed the Rhine and had seized some lands of the

[1] In a conference held in 56 B.C. at Luca, in northern Italy.

Gauls. This movement was but the beginning of a German migration, which if unchecked would have thrown Gaul into commotion, and might have brought both German and Celtic hordes into Narbonensis and even into Italy. A more direct menace to Rome came from the Helvetians, a great Celtic tribe of the Alps, who were abandoning their home in the mountains for the broader and more fertile lands of southern Gaul.

Cæsar repels the danger and conquers Gaul.

Cæsar, who at this time had had little experience in command, thus found himself confronted by enormous difficulties and dangers. But the ease with which he overcame everything in his way marked him at once as a great master of the art of war. With wonderful rapidity he gathered his widely scattered forces, enrolled new legions, and inspired his raw recruits with the courage and devotion of veterans. He immediately defeated the Helvetians with great slaughter, and drove the remnant of their host back to their former home. In the same summer he won a great victory over the Germans and compelled them to recross the Rhine. In the following year, as the Belgians of northern Gaul threatened to give him trouble, he resolved to subdue them. In the invasion of their country he met little opposition till he came to the Nervii, the most warlike and the most powerful of the Belgic tribes. These people would have nothing of Roman traders in wine and other luxuries, for they wished to keep their strength intact and their martial fire alive. While Cæsar was approaching they fell upon him so fiercely that he could neither form his line nor give orders. Each soldier was left to his own judgment. But the cool courage of the legionaries and the heroism of the commander won the desperate fight. Few Nervii survived. As a result of the campaign all northern Gaul submitted. Next year he attacked the Veneti, who

Plutarch, *Cæsar*, 17 ff.

Cæsar, *Gallic War*, ii. 16 ff.

Ib. iii. 7 ff.

occupied a strip of the western coast. A maritime people, they built their towns on headlands protected on all sides by tide waters too shallow for Roman ships. They themselves put to sea in clumsy flat-bottomed boats with leathern sails. Cæsar made little progress against them till his small, light fleet met their bulky navy in the open sea. A happy thought occurred to the Romans. With scythes fastened to long poles they cut the enemy's tackle so as to disable his ships. Victory was then easy; the Veneti with their allies submitted.

Value of the conquest.

In the remaining years of his command Cæsar drove back another horde of Germans; to check their inroads he twice invaded their country. His two voyages to Britain prepared the way for the future conquest of that island. It was necessary, too, to crush fierce rebellions among his new subjects; but though his conquest spread desolation and death over the entire country, in the end his just and humane settlement of affairs attached the subjects loyally to him. All Gaul, at first under one governor, afterward became four provinces. It gave new strength to Rome and protected the Rhine frontier against the dangerous Germans. The new subjects readily learned Latin and adopted the Roman dress and customs. Many years afterward the youths of the empire attended the Gallic schools to study rhetoric, — "to learn the language of the conquerors from the conquered! History has not many cases of this sort to record."

Adams, *French Nation*, p. 18.

Cæsar's magnificent outlook.

Cæsar's long command gave him an army devoted to his cause and a new recruiting ground, for he had already enrolled a legion of Gauls. Like Sertorius he learned to seek his own interest in the welfare of the governed. Far from limiting his benevolence to his own provinces and to Rome, he began to furnish the larger cities of Italy, Spain,

P. 176.

Greece, and Asia with money for public works. At his distance from the capital he saw, too, how petty was the game of politics in the Forum compared with the statesman's work of developing the prosperity and the happiness of the provinces.

End of Crassus; Pompey champion of the senate.

Most politicians at Rome thought of a province as nothing but a plundering ground, or, more recently, as a means of acquiring a military command. Accordingly Crassus, at the end of his consulship, went to Syria, his province, in the hope of raising an army with which to rival Pompey and Cæsar. With this end in view he began a needless war upon the Parthians, but was defeated and killed by them at Carrhæ. Pompey, for his part, instead of going to his provinces as the law required, administered them through deputies — an example afterward converted into a rule by the emperors. He remained in the neighborhood of Rome to preserve order; and as the senate was of itself unable to prevent anarchy in the city, it made him sole consul in 52 B.C., and prolonged his proconsulship five years. The aristocrats now looked to him for protection from the mighty governor of Gaul, who represented the people.

P. 184.

53 B.C. Plutarch, *Crassus*, 18–28.

P. 209.

Cæsar and Pompey clash.

Pompey had married Cæsar's daughter Julia; and as long as she lived the two leaders remained friends. Her death, however, broke the only bond which united them. A clash between them, and between the parties they represented, was inevitable. Though for the sake of harmony Cæsar was willing to concede everything short of self-annihilation, the senate was unbending. As his enemies threatened to prosecute him when he should become a private citizen, he wished to pass immediately from the proconsulship of Gaul, ending 49 B.C., to the consulship at Rome, 48 B.C. A law of the tribunes gave him permission

Suetonius, *J. Cæsar*, 26 ff.

to become a candidate for the consulship without appearing in person according to custom. Nevertheless in 49 B.C. the senate ordered him to lay down his command on pain of being declared a public enemy. When the tribunes, Mark Antony and Quintus Cassius, vetoed this decree, they were harshly treated, and fled thereupon to Cæsar's camp. In violating the sanctity of the tribunes — the mainstay of the constitution — the nobles were preparing their own ruin, as their act gave Cæsar a pretext for bringing his army to Rome to protect the sacred office. It is a noteworthy fact that the tribunate and the proconsulship, thus united against the senate, were to become the two chief bases of the imperial government.

P. 210.

Cæsar crosses the Rubicon, 49 B.C.

Plutarch, *Cæsar*, 32; Suetonius, *J. Cæsar*, 31–33.

The story is told that at the Rubicon, which separated his province from Italy, Cæsar hesitated while he discussed with his friends the consequences of crossing, like an invader, into Italy and of thus making himself an enemy to his country; then exclaiming, "The die is cast!" he hurried over the river, and with a trumpet summoned his troops to follow. Although the anecdote may not be true, the crossing of the Rubicon was a crisis in the life of Cæsar and in the history of his country; for by bringing his army into Italy in violation of the law, he began a war upon the republic.

Civil war; the battle of Pharsalus, 48 B.C.

Cæsar, *Civil War*, iii. 73 ff.

Pompey, with the consuls and many senators, retired to the East, where he expected his great influence to bring him abundance of supporters and of resources for war. Cæsar immediately secured control of Italy and Spain. His gentleness to opponents and his moderation in relieving distressed debtors and in protecting property won the hearts of all quiet citizens, and made even many followers of Pompey suspect that they had taken the wrong side. After setting up a government at Rome, Cæsar crossed

to Greece and met his rival at Pharsalus, in Thessaly. Although in appearance Pompey championed the senate, the real question at issue was which of the two commanders should rule the Roman world. It was a conflict, too, between the East and the West as to which should hold the balance of power in the empire. Pompey's army outnumbered the enemy more than two to one; but the mental resources of Cæsar, together with the superior manliness of the Western troops, won the day. Pompey fled to Egypt; and when Cæsar reached Alexandria in pursuit, a would-be friend brought him the head of his murdered rival. It was no welcome gift to the noble victor.

P. 168

Cæsar in Egypt, 48–47 B.C. Hirtius (?), *Alexandrian War.*

In Egypt, King Ptolemy had deposed Cleopatra, at once his wife and sister. But Cæsar, siding with the charming queen, established her as sole monarch. Then while passing through Syria and Asia Minor he settled the affairs of the provinces, and in one battle crushed Pharnaces, son and successor of Mithridates, thus putting an end to a dangerous enemy. After the victory he sent the senate this brief despatch, — "I came, I saw, I conquered — *veni, vidi, vici.*" Another year he defeated the senatorial army at Thapsus in Africa. One of the aristocratic commanders in that region was Cato, — honest, loyal, and stubborn, yet narrow-minded as had been his great-grandfather, the famous censor. In despair of the republic, he killed himself. Soon afterward the victory at Munda in Spain destroyed the last opposition to Cæsar.

Defeat of Pharnaces, 47 B.C.

Battle of Thapsus, 46 B.C.

Battle of Munda, 45 B.C.

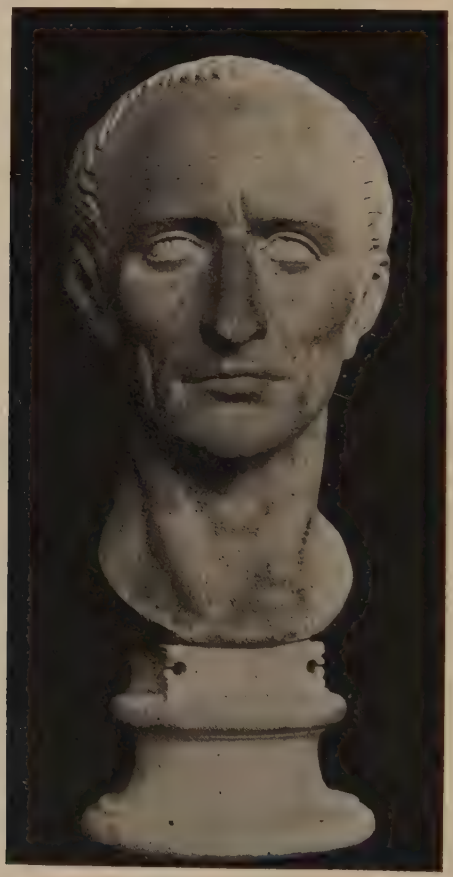
The character of Cæsar.

His wars were ended; for the first time in history the world of the ancients, extending from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, bowed to one will. It remains to examine the character of the victor and the manner in which he used his power.

"He was tall and fair, round-limbed, rather full-faced,

Suetonius, *J. Cæsar*, 45.

with piercing black eyes." The massive brow, and nose shaped like an eagle's beak, show great intellect combined



JULIUS CÆSAR
(British Museum.)

with force. "The expression of the face is keen, thoughtful, and somewhat stern. It is the likeness of a severe

schoolmaster of the world." Though in youth he had indulged in the follies and the dissipation of the young nobles, though in early manhood he had been a demagogue, a spendthrift, and debtor, he emerged from these corrupting influences with a clear head and a good heart. It is true that he had extorted money from the provincials and had sometimes been cruel to prisoners, but mildness and humanity grew in him till his noble sympathy encompassed the world. A many-sided man, he was in every respect great. He interested himself in grammar, in natural science, and astronomy. His story of his own campaigns is a model historical narrative, — plain, accurate, and elegant, with no affectation of rhetorical ornament. The simple force of his oratory made him the most impressive speaker of his age. Taking command in Gaul when above forty years old, with little previous experience, he showed an energy, courage, coolness, and fertility of mind which make him perhaps the most marvellous character in military history. Above all he was a great creative statesman, who, by arresting the decay of ancient civilization, gave the old world institutions three centuries more of vigorous life.

Fowler, *Julius Cæsar*, p. 19, describing a bust of Cæsar in the British Museum.

Cæsar, *Commentaries on the Gallic War* and *on the Civil War*.

In the settlement of the political and civil troubles he aimed to heal old wounds without inflicting new ones. He respected the memory of Sulla and of Pompey; he forgave his enemies and even advanced many of them to office. With too great confidence in his fellow-men he dismissed his army, and walked in the streets of Rome without a guard.

His moderation and clemency.

Cæsar did not live long enough to give his government a definite, permanent form. He held at one and the same time the offices of consul, censor, and dictator, granted him for long periods or for life. He enjoyed, too, the authority of the tribunes without the office. As pontifex

His government.

maximus he was head of the religion of the empire, and as a member of the college of augurs he represented the state in its relations with the gods. The combination in his own person of the chief religious and civil offices of the republic made him king in all but name. In addition to these powers he bore the title "imperator," which soldiers were accustomed to bestow by acclamation upon a victorious general. Perhaps Cæsar, too, thought of it as a mere honor; yet in belonging to him for life, it marks him as the first emperor of Rome. The arrangements here described seem to have been provisional. Whatever form his government might have taken, it would have been in fact a strongly centralized monarchy. Apparently he wished to make his power hereditary. With this end in view, as he had no nearer heirs, he adopted as a son his grandnephew Octavius, a youth of remarkable talent.

His treatment of the assemblies and the senate.

Although the assemblies continued to meet, Cæsar's extensive powers left them little to do. The senate, that stronghold of republicanism, while loading him with flattery, was in secret his deadly foe. Accordingly he degraded it to the condition of an advisory council. Sulla had doubled the number of senators; Cæsar increased it to nine hundred by admitting not only knights but also many inferior citizens and even some half-barbarous Gauls. Probably he wished in time to make it represent the whole empire.

P. 172.

His administration of the provinces.

It is in his administration of the provinces that we find most to commend. The evils of aristocratic oppression, whose beginnings are described in an earlier chapter, were now at their height. No human mind can conceive the brutal tyranny of the ruling class or the woe and misery which these polite aristocrats had spread over the whole civilized world. By destroying the root of the evil, Cæsar regenerated provincial life. He reduced taxes, abolished

P. 130 ff.

the system of farming direct revenues, thus preventing the capitalists and the publicans from plundering the subject races, and placed the imperial finances in the hands of his own servants and freedmen, over whom he could exercise a severe control. He saw, too, that the governorships should be filled with able, honest men. Besides being judges and administrators, these rulers commanded the military force in their districts subject to the emperor, while each single legion obeyed an officer Cæsar had appointed. The governor, surrounded thus by checks and guards, and responsible to an exacting master, ceased to do evil and devoted himself to the service of the emperor, which was at the same time the interest of the governed. "The estates of the Roman people," as the provinces had been called, were to be cultivated and improved, no longer pillaged. Passing beyond the idea of governing for mere profit, Cæsar established colonies in the provinces, as Corinth and Carthage, to be centres from which Roman civilization should radiate; he aimed, also, to extend the citizenship to the provincial towns, one by one, till the distinction between governors and governed should be wiped out, and the rights of the world should be equalized under a master at once strong and just.

P. 131.

P. 270.

His improvements in Rome and in Italy.

Even Rome and Italy were in wretched plight. The work of the Gracchi had been undone and the gulf between the rich and the poor widened. On the one side were the millionaires, less than two thousand in number, with their gorgeous villas and their broad estates worked by gangs of slaves; on the other, the miserable poor, of whom many flocked to Rome to live as paupers on the public doles of grain, while some turned to robbery and others even sold themselves as gladiators. As the more enterprising Italians passed into the army or into provincial business, the free

Pp. 132 f, 134.

P. 342 f.

P. 346.

population which remained was fast dying out. There was the utmost confusion in the government of the towns, brigandage over all the country, and in the capital vice surpassing description. To be poor was esteemed "the only disgrace and the only crime." These evil conditions Cæsar reformed. He planted colonies in desolate places and recruited the wasting population of the towns. He encouraged agriculture and family life, and cut down the number of Roman paupers more than a half, — to a hundred and fifty thousand. His famous municipal law gave the towns a uniform system of free government, which gradually extended itself to the provinces. He brought new vigor to the criminal courts and to the police, and passed laws to restrict luxury. Finally he introduced a new calendar, which made the year consist of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours, a system which continued in force to the sixteenth century A.D.

Mommsen, *Rome*, bk. V. ch. xi.

Lex Julia Municipalis, 45 B.C.

The senators murder him.

Such were Cæsar's chief reforms. It is not the storming of cities nor the killing of thousands in battle which commands our admiration, but rather the intelligence and good will to men which impelled him to give the world well-ordered peace and some degree of happiness which should outlive his own life.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 107–117; Plutarch, *Cæsar*, 60–68; *Brutus*, 7–17.

His government was in fact a monarchy; some suspected that he desired even the title of king. At all events, he was worthy of a crown; and an hereditary kingship would have saved the state from another civil war. But the aristocrats could not yield forever their own title of lords of the earth and their privilege of misrule. While they forced upon him honors such as belonged only to the gods, they began to plot his murder. Their motives were envy, revenge, and political fanaticism. Chief among the conspirators were the "lean and hungry" Cassius, who prob-

ably felt himself slighted in the matter of promotion, and Marcus Brutus, a weak, bookish idealist, who in actual life had scarcely more virtue than his fellow-nobles. Altogether there were about sixty in the plot. As Cæsar was soon to leave Rome for a war against the Parthians, who were annoying the eastern frontier, the conspirators made haste to strike the blow. Pretending to urge a petition of one of their number, they gathered about him in Pompey's new senate-hall and assailed him with daggers. He fell stabbed with twenty-three wounds. The senate dispersed. Mark Antony, Cæsar's colleague in the consulship, delivered the funeral oration and read the will, which, by its generosity to the citizens, stirred them against the murderers. The most sincere mourners, however, were the provincials who chanced to be in Rome; they wept over the ashes of their mighty benefactor, and doubtless dreaded the renewed anarchy and terrorism of senatorial rule.

He becomes a god.

"He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and was ranked among the gods, not only by formal decree, but in the belief of the people. For during the first games which Augustus, his heir, consecrated to his memory, a comet blazed for seven days together, rising always about eleven o'clock; and it was supposed to be the soul of Cæsar now received into heaven."

Suetonius, *J. Cæsar*, 88.

Who will succeed him?

His death left the consul, Mark Antony, at the head of the government. As executor of Cæsar's will, which he falsified at pleasure, he managed Rome and the empire with absolute power, while he lorded it over the senate. Through fear of him and of the enraged populace, the chiefs of the conspirators hurried away to the provinces Cæsar had given them. Cicero, who approved the assassination though he had no hand in it, sailed for Greece, but was driven back by a storm. Thereupon he returned to

Rome to take the lead of the senate against the new tyrant. In the next few months he delivered a series of powerful invectives against Antony, known as the *Philippics*, from their resemblance to the speeches of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedonia. But eloquence had ceased to be a force in the world. The republic had perished; the death of the monarch was followed by a war of succession, in which the adopted heir was to gain the mastery.

Botsford, *Greece*, p. 304.

Gaius Julius Cæsar Octavianus. Suetonius, *Augustus*.

Octavius was pursuing his studies at Apollonia in Illyricum, when news came of his great-uncle's death. Though his mother and his friends warned him against connecting himself with Cæsar, he started at once for Rome. On landing in Italy and learning that he was heir, he took the name Gaius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, according to custom. The name worked like a charm. As he journeyed toward the capital, Cæsar's old soldiers flocked to him, offering him their swords to avenge the murder. He declined their proposals for the time and came almost alone to Rome, into the midst of enemies. But he soon gained friends. By promising the people all their late ruler had bequeathed them, he readily won their hearts; and for a time he sided with the senate against Antony. Deceived by his show of frank simplicity, Cicero declared that the young Octavianus was all for the republic. In fact this youth of nineteen years had no enthusiasm for any cause; in cool cunning he outmatched even the political veterans of the capital.

The Second Triumvirate, 43 B.C.

He raised an army; and with the new consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, he defeated Antony at Mutina, in northern Italy. After this victory over their dreaded enemy the aristocrats felt that they could now do without the boy, but he marched upon Rome and compelled them to make him consul, for Hirtius and Pansa had both been killed in the

A Roman Fleet in Harbor
(Based on a Wall-Painting, Pompeii.)

battle. The senate thus lost his support. Immediately he came to an understanding with Antony, his rival, and with Lepidus, Cæsar's master of horse, who still held an important command. These three men together had forty-three legions at their disposal. They made of themselves "triumvirs for reëstablishing the state," — an office they were to hold for five years, with power to dispose of all magistracies at will and to issue decrees which should have the force of law. The assembly ratified the arrangement, and in this way the Second Triumvirate came into being. They filled Rome with their troops and renewed the hideous proscriptions of Sulla. Each sacrificed friends and even kinsmen to the hatred of the others. Among the victims of Antony was Cicero, the last great orator of the ancient world. Though he was vain and wavering, though the cause he championed meant anarchy for Rome and misery for the provinces, in his heart he was a patriot and a friend of liberty.

P. 68.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, iv. 2 ff; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 27; Plutarch, *Antony*, 19 ff.

P. 171.

Civil war; the battles of Philippi, 42 B.C.

Antony and Octavianus led their armies to Macedonia to meet the republican forces which Cassius and Brutus had collected there. Two battles were fought near Philippi. After the first, which was indecisive, Cassius killed himself in despair. Brutus, beaten in the second engagement, followed the example of his mate; the republican scholar could not live under the rule of iron.

Civil war between Antony and Octavianus.

The triumvirs renewed their authority for another five years; and when the incompetent Lepidus dropped from the board, the two remaining members divided the empire between them. Antony ruled the East and Octavianus the West. To cement the alliance, the heir of Cæsar gave his sister Octavia in marriage to his colleague. But trouble soon arose. Though a clever orator, a diplomatist, and no mean general, Antony was fond of luxury and of vice.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, v. 1 ff; Plutarch, *Antony*, 23 ff.

Neglecting his wife and the interests of the state, he spent his time with Cleopatra in frivolous dissipation. The Italians supposed he intended to make her his queen and himself despot of an Oriental empire with Alexandria for his capital. They willingly followed Octavianus, therefore, in a war against this national enemy. The fleets of the rivals met off Actium on the west coast of Greece, 31 B.C. Agrippa, an able general, commanded the ships of Octavianus against the combined squadrons of Antony

CLEOPATRA
(Vatican Museum, Rome.)

The battle off Actium, 31 B.C.

and Cleopatra. In the early part of the fight this infatuated pair sailed away, leaving their fleet to take care of itself. Agrippa's light triremes outmanœuvred the ponderous galleys of the enemy, and burned many of them with fire-balls. After the battle, Antony's land force surrendered. At last when he and Cleopatra committed suicide in Alexandria, Octavianus was master of the empire. For a time it seemed doubtful whether in imitation of his adoptive father he would retain all the power in his own

hands, or restore it to the senate after the example of Sulla; but finally he chose a middle course. The republican period came to an end in 27 B.C., when he resigned the office of triumvir, and received from the senate the title Augustus. Hitherto this epithet had been reserved for the gods and their belongings. In conferring it on Octavianus the senate intended to grant no power, but to mark him as the one whom all should revere. Though we shall henceforth speak of Octavianus as Augustus, we are to bear in mind that all the emperors after him held this title as their chief distinction. It is nearly equivalent to His Sacred Majesty.

The end of the republic, 27 B.C.

The battle of Actium was one of the most important in ancient history: it saved European civilization from undue Oriental influence; it ended the long anarchy which followed the murder of Cæsar; and it placed the destiny of the empire in the hands of an able statesman. Sulla and Pompey had wielded absolute power, but they lacked the wisdom necessary for creating new and useful institutions. In failing to make the republic a part of his system, even the great Julius Cæsar fell short of the needs of his time. It remained for Augustus to meet the demands of all classes in an organization which, for three centuries, was to protect the civilized world from anarchy and from barbarian invasion.

Results of the battle of Actium.

P. 218.

During the decline of the republic the spirit of the ruling class rapidly yielded to Hellenic influence. All the sons of the nobles had Greek tutors, and when they grew older many of them visited Greece to study in the famous schools of Athens and Rhodes. Naturally, therefore, Hellenic ideas controlled the intellectual life of Rome. Throughout these years the political pulse beat high, and those who were interested in public affairs worked off their

The culture of the period.

Pp. 260, 336.

excitement in reading and writing. The age produced much literature, especially history and oratory. After the time of Cato the Censor, some of the annalists, departing from his plan of narrating facts in simple language for the instruction of the serious reader, began to write for the entertainment of the public. To give their narrative a brilliant coloring they filled it with lively stories and startling incidents, however exaggerated and false. About the time of the Social War, Valerius Antias, the most infamous of these romancers, composed his *Annals* of Rome in seventy-five books. A striking contrast with the diffuse rhetoric of Antias is the plain narrative of Cæsar, whose *Commentaries on the Gallic War* and *on the Civil War* have already been noticed. Toward the end of the period Sallust wrote a monograph *On the Conspiracy of Catiline* and another *On the Jugurthine War*. Along with his narrative of events, he tried to analyze impartially the character of society and the motives of conduct. These works are valuable sources for the subjects treated. Most of his *History*, however, which describes the events following Sulla's death, has been lost. These were the chief historians of the age. Though each noble family recorded the deeds of illustrious ancestors, there was no national interest in biography till the closing years of the republic, when the great men of Rome began to attract all eyes. At this time Cornelius Nepos wrote a work *On Eminent Men*, in which he treated famous Romans and foreigners in parallel biographies. Most of his lives which we still possess are of Greek generals; they prove him to have been an inferior and untrustworthy author.

History. P. 146.

P. 191.

Biography.

Perhaps the ablest of all Roman orators was Gaius Gracchus. The earnestness of his feelings and his clear statement of facts, without rhetorical ornament, carried

Oratory. P. 155.

conviction. Unfortunately mere fragments of his speeches have come down to us. Though inferior to Gracchus and Cæsar in that greatness of character which is essential to the noblest oratory, Cicero was perfect master of all the resources of rhetoric and remains the most celebrated writer of Latin prose. If in reading his speeches we guard against his misrepresentation of truth, we shall find them valuable for the study of the times. More trustworthy are his *Letters* to friends, in which he speaks candidly of passing events.

Poetry.

As the temperament of the Romans was realistic and practical, they met with little success in imaginative literature. Lucretius, a poet of this age, composed in verse a work *On the Nature of the World*, in which he tried by means of science to dispel from the mind all fear of death and of the gods, — to free men from superstition. Notwithstanding the scientific details in which the poem abounds, it is a work of remarkable genius. Catullus, a contemporary poet, wrote beautiful lyrics and elegies on subjects of love and life, and some bitter lampoons. On the whole, the poetry of this period is less celebrated than that of the following.

Books and libraries.

Writers were eager to bring their works before the public. Publishers employed slaves in making copies, which were then placed on sale. Learned men had private libraries, and Cæsar planned to make as large a collection as possible of works in the Greek and Latin languages for public use, and assigned the task of collecting and arranging them to Marcus Terentius Varro. This man, the most learned of the Romans, was author of seventy-four works, which included all departments of knowledge affecting his own country and race, — history, geography, agriculture, law, literature, philology, philosophy, and religion,

—a Roman encyclopædia. Although the Italians had been slow in developing a taste for culture, and though the quality of their literary work always fell short of the best Greek models, they surpassed their masters in the amount produced. Unfortunately nearly the whole body of Greek and Roman literature has disappeared, leaving us a multitude of fragments and a few choice works intact.

End of the republic.

While we appreciate the progress of literature and of intelligence, we must not lose sight of the fact that in nearly every other respect Rome was rapidly decaying. At this point in his history, Mommsen aptly remarks: "There was in the world as Cæsar found it much of the noble heritage of past centuries and an infinite abundance of pomp and glory, but little spirit, still less taste, and least of all true delight in life. It was indeed," he continues, "an old world; and even the richly gifted patriotism of Cæsar could not make it young again." All that statesmen could now do was to determine what elements of life and virtue still lingered in the Roman world, and to organize these forces, with which to stay for a few more centuries the wreck of ancient civilization.

Mommsen, *Rome*, bk. V. ch. xii.

Sources

Reading.

Sallust, *Catiline; History* (fragments); Cæsar, *Commentaries on the Gallic War; on the Civil War;* (Hirtius ?), *on the Alexandrian War; on the African War* (though the last two works have come down to us under the name of Cæsar, they were probably written by Hirtius, one of Cæsar's officers); Cicero, *Letters: Orations;* and other works; Livy (epitome) xc–cxxxiv; Appian, *Foreign Wars*, xii. 64–121; *Civil Wars*, i. 107–121; ii–v; Plutarch, *Cæsar; Cicero; Crassus; Cato* (the Younger); *Lucullus; Antony; Pompey; Sertorius; Brutus;* Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar; Augustus;* Dio Cassius, xxxvi–li (German translation from the Greek); Velleius Paterculus ii. 29–89; Florus iii. 19–iv. 12; Lucan, *Pharsalia* (p. 240); Eutropius vi, vii. 1–7. Cf. Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. viii.

Modern Works

Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. IV. chs. ii, iii; bk. V. chs. i, ii; How and Leigh, *History of Rome*, chs. xlv–lii; Shuckburgh, *History of Rome*, chs. xli–xlvi; Taylor, *Constitutional and Political History of Rome*, chs. xii–xvi; Merivale, *Roman Triumvirates* (epochs); Allcroft, *Making of the Monarchy* (tutorial); **Mommsen,** *History of Rome*, bk. V; Duruy, *History of Rome*, III. chs. xlviii–lxi; Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire* (I–III), chs. i–xxviii; Long, *Decline of the Roman Republic*, II. chs. xxx–xxxiii; III–V (entire); Seeley, *Roman Imperialism*, lect. i; Beesly, *Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius;* Hall, *The Romans on the Riviera and the Rhone*, chs. xi–xv; D'Hugues, *Une Province Romaine sous La Republique, Étude sur le Proconsulat de Cicéron* (Paris, 1876); Mahaffy, *Greek World under Roman Sway*, ch. iv; Church, *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero;* Trollope, *Cicero;* **Strachan-Davidson,** *Cicero* (heroes); Boissier, *Cicero and his Friends;* Forsyth, *Cicero;* Dubois-Guchan, *Rome et Cicéron;* Napoleon III, *Julius Cæsar*, 2 vols.; Delorme, *Cesar et ses Contemporains;* Froude, *Cæsar;* **Fowler,** *Julius Cæsar* (heroes); Dodge, *Cæsar* (great captains); Holmes, *Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul;* Davis, *A Friend of Cæsar* (a novel); Mackail, *Latin Literature*, bk. I. chs. iv–vii; Cruttwell, *History of Roman Literature*, bk. II. pt. i; Simcox, *Latin Literature*, I. pt. ii.

THE PANTHEON

(Campus Martius.)

CHAPTER IX

THE FOUNDING OF THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT — THE DYARCHY

(27 B.C.–41 A.D.)

THE JULIAN EMPERORS

"Safe the herds range field and fen,
Full-headed stand the shocks of grain,
Our sailors sweep the peaceful main,
And man can trust his fellow-men.

* * * * * *

"The Parthian, under Cæsar's reign,
Or icy Scythian, who can dread,
Or all the tribes barbarian bred
By Germany, or ruthless Spain?

"Now each man, basking on his slopes,
Weds to his widowed trees the vine,
Then, as he gaily quaffs his wine,
Salutes thee God of all his hopes."
HORACE, *Odes*, iv. 15 (to Augustus).

THE need of a strong, humane power for the protection of the frontier and for developing the resources and the happiness of the provinces had called in the new imperial government to take the place of the worn-out republic. Henceforth it will be our chief interest to learn by what means and how far the successive emperors performed this double task; we shall concern ourselves less with the corrupt nobility and with the intrigues of the imperial family than with the progress of the civilized world.

Value of the imperial government.

A chief aim of Augustus was to protect the frontiers, to maintain quiet by diplomacy, and to wage war solely for the sake of peace. In the East, Rome had a great rival in the Parthian empire. This power, which Augustus found haughty from its victory over Crassus, he humbled without war. With great difficulty he secured the friendship of Armenia, a border country whose kings wavered between Rome and Parthia. Although there remained several small kingdoms in the East, as Pontus and Cappadocia, wholly dependent upon Rome, Augustus preferred to convert such states into provinces. He placed Judea under an imperial agent termed *procurator;* after the death of Cleopatra, he set a prefect over Egypt. He kept four legions in Syria, one in the valley of the Nile as a protection from Parthia and Ethiopia, and a few troops west of Egypt to ward off the sparse African tribes. In place of war he encouraged trade with foreign countries, even with distant India.

The frontiers.

P. 187.

To defend the northern frontier from the barbarians of central Europe was the most difficult problem with which

The northern frontier.

the emperor had to deal. This task fell to his stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus. As the Danube was to form a part of this boundary, four provinces, Rætia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Mœsia, lining the southern bank, protected it with strong

Sons of his wife Livia by a former marriage.
P. 218.

AUGUSTUS

(Vatican Museum, Rome.)

forts and garrisons. In like manner two frontier provinces, Upper and Lower Germany, defended the Rhine with a chain of fifty forts. While Tiberius was organizing the defence along the Danube and was putting down revolts, Drusus, his younger brother, attempted to subdue Germany

from the Rhine to the Elbe. This conquest, had it been achieved, would have greatly shortened the frontier and would thus have made it far easier to defend. By redeeming so large a part of Germany from barbarism, it would have altered the current of history. For three years he was successful in defeating barbarians and in gaining control of their country by means of forts, when he fatally injured himself by a fall from his horse. Hastening to his brother's side, Tiberius was with him in his last moments; and with a devotion which was rare in that age, he brought the body from the depths of the German forest to Rome, walking all the way in front of the bier. It was a great loss to the imperial family; for Drusus was an able man and popular with the army.

12–9 B.C.

Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 33.

Tiberius, who succeeded to the command, was likewise the idol of the troops; for he watched over them with the care of a father, and shared all their hardships. For a short time he carried on the work of completing and of organizing the conquest; then leaving it to other hands, he retired to private life. When he returned after ten years' absence "at the very sight of him tears of joy sprang from the eyes of the soldiers; they saluted him with strange enthusiasm, and eagerly wished to touch his hand. . . . One after another exclaimed, 'General, I was with you in Armenia.' 'And I in Rætia.' 'You rewarded me in Vindelicia.' 'And me in Pannonia.' 'And me in Germany!'" Though the work of fastening the yoke upon the brave, liberty-loving Germans was difficult, it seemed complete when Tiberius returned to Pannonia to put down a dangerous rebellion there. Meantime Augustus made Varus, a distant kinsman, governor of the new province. This man had too much of the old republican spirit to make a good ruler; and Augustus was at fault in giving him the post without imposing

Tiberius.

Velleius Paterculus, ii. 104.

P. 295.

strict instructions. Varus considered his subjects mere slaves, whom he tried to govern by the principles he had learned in the Orient. They resisted; and under the lead of Arminius, a chieftain's son who had received his education at Rome, they plotted against their tyrannic governor. As he was leading his three legions through the Teutoberg Forest on his way to winter quarters, they surrounded him and cut his army to pieces. Varus killed himself; the barbarians hung their prisoners to trees and tortured them to death. Though Augustus appeared to bear the news with a brave heart, his spirit was broken by the misfortune he could not repair. From time to time he would say, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions." As he saw his helpers and his kinsmen dying one after another, and felt himself worn out by sickness and toil, the emperor at length realized how gigantic was the task of defending the empire and how lonely was to be the walk of the man who carried in his bosom the burden of the world's cares. However, as the empire was again endangered by the Germans, Augustus compelled the Italians to enlist, sorely against their will. Tiberius, accompanied by Germanicus, son of his brother Drusus, led a new army across the Rhine. "He penetrated into the interior, opened roads, wasted the lands, burned houses, overthrew all opposition, and then with abundance of glory, and without losing a man of those who had crossed the river, he returned to winter quarters." This bloodless campaign quieted the natives and inspired the raw army with courage. As Augustus had now abandoned the idea of advancing the frontier beyond the Rhine, Tiberius prudently accepted the decision.

Battle of the Teutoberg Forest, 9 A.D.

Suetonius, *Augustus*, 23; Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 61, 62.

Velleius Paterculus, ii. 120.

The provinces.

In reviewing the border provinces, we have had occasion to notice only the emperor and his helpers; for all those districts which danger threatened were under his

direct care. He administered their judicial and military affairs by means of lieutenants, — *legati*, — who during office were called proprætors, while his fiscal agents — *procuratores* — attended to finance. The older and more peaceful provinces still belonged to the senate, which appointed governors with the title of proconsul. While the senatorial rulers changed annually, as under the republic, a proprætor continued in office as long as the emperor willed, generally for many years; thus he could learn the needs of the provincials and interest himself in their happiness. Augustus followed the example of Julius Cæsar in insisting on a just and vigorous government; though the imperial provinces fared better than the senatorial, he possessed proconsular authority over all the governors alike, by means of which he could check abuse in any part of the empire. Accordingly the rule of the emperors, imitating that of Julius Cæsar, was a blessing to the subjects; the thousand-headed monster of the republic with its horrid appetite for plunder had at last given place to the prudent master, whose chief care was to increase the value of his "estates." Although Augustus withheld the Roman citizenship and still claimed the land as state property, the provincials enjoyed a large degree of municipal freedom. He encouraged trade and knit the empire together by continuing the system of well-paved roads which radiated from the golden milestone of the Forum to the remotest parts of the Roman world. Thus the imperial government brought the provinces protection from invasion, internal quiet, a just administration, thrift, happiness, and the healthful atmosphere of local freedom. However far from ideal, the system was as good as the circumstances would permit.

P. 187.

P. 193.

P. 193.

The division of the empire between the senate and

The dyarchy. P. 179.

Augustus followed a precedent set in the time of Pompey. The senate was still to rule Italy and the quiet provinces; the emperor undertook the more difficult task of maintaining and commanding the army, and of protecting the unsettled and exposed parts of the empire. The republic continued in free Italy; the monarchy was established for the states already subject. This dyarchy, or double rule of the senate and the emperor, accorded better with public feeling, and hence was more substantial, than the absolutism of Julius Cæsar. By professing to derive his authority from the senate and the people, Augustus disguised his own position in republican forms.[1] Whereas the moderns call him emperor, from his title of imperator, the Romans styled him simply prince, the "foremost" of the citizens. The outward sign of his position was the purple robe which he wore at public festivals.

P. 199.

Imperial offices and powers. P. 191.

P. 188.

P. 73.

Like his adoptive father, Augustus held at once various kinds of official authority, — chiefly the proconsular for the control of the provinces, and the tribunitian for the government of Rome. As the tribunes and the proconsuls, by combined action, had overthrown the republic, their official powers naturally formed the basis of the new imperial government. Not only did the tribunitian authority make the emperor's person sacred, but it marked him as the friend of the people. Whatever his personal inclinations may have been, the heir of Julius Cæsar was a son of de-

[1] "In my sixth and seventh consulships, when I had put an end to the civil wars and had obtained complete control of affairs by universal consent, I transferred the commonwealth from my own dominion to the authority of the senate and the people of Rome. In return for this favor I received by decree of the senate the title Augustus. . . . After that time I excelled all others in dignity, but of power I held no more than those also held who were my colleagues in any magistracy." Augustus, *Deeds* (*Monumentum Ancyranum*), xxxiv.

mocracy, who harmonized better with the plain citizens than with the party which had murdered his father.

The old republican offices.

Although Augustus sometimes held the consulship and occasionally undertook the duties of censor, he generally left the republican offices to others, whom the people elected and the senate supervised in the traditional way. The consuls, whose term was now generally less than a year, the prætors, the plebeian tribunes, and the other republican officers performed their routine duties with little change; but all the old institutions were under the shadow of Augustus. His successors gradually encroached upon the power of the senate till, in the time of Diocletian, the prince became an absolute monarch.

P. 247.

P. 278 ff.

Public improvements.

Not only in government, but in public economy, in architecture, in religion, and in morals, Augustus was less a creator than a restorer of the past. On this characteristic he prided himself. "I have established colonies of soldiers in Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, the two Spains, Achaia, Asia, Syria, Gallia Narbonensis, and Pisidia. Italy also has twenty-eight colonies planted under my auspices, which within my lifetime have become very famous and populous." His aim was not only to furnish his retired veterans with farms but also to resettle depopulated lands, so as to improve the economic condition of the country.

Colonies.

Augustus, *Deeds*, xxviii.

Public buildings.

"The Capitol[1] and the Pompeian theatre I have repaired at enormous expense. . . . Aqueducts which were crumbling in many places, by reason of age, I have restored . . . and have finished the Julian Forum and the basilica which was between the temple of Castor and the temple of Saturn, works begun and almost completed by my father; and when that same basilica was consumed by fire, I began its reconstruction on an enlarged scale, inscribing it with

Augustus, *Deeds*, xx.

[1] The Capitoline temple of Jupiter.

the names of my sons. If I do not live to complete it, I have given orders that it be finished by my heirs. In accordance with a decree of the senate, while consul for
P. 148. the sixth time, I restored eighty-two temples of the gods, passing over none which was at that time in need of repair. In my seventh consulship I [re-] built the Flaminian Way

THE TEMPLE OF MARS THE AVENGER
(In the Augustan Forum.)

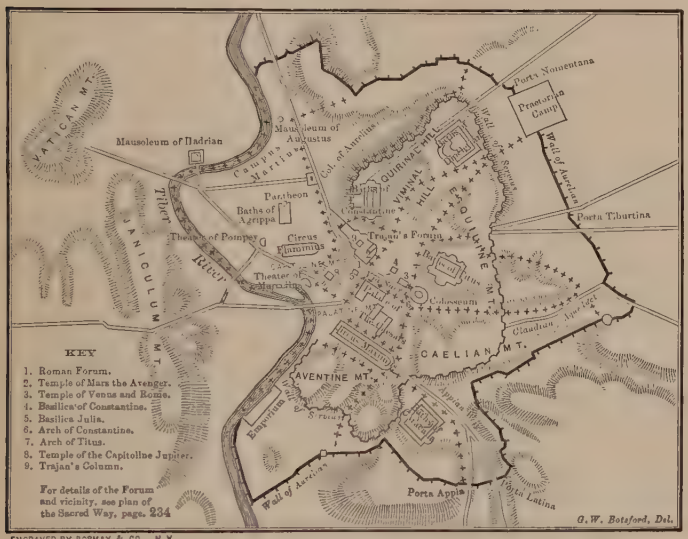
to Ariminum, and all the bridges except the Mulvian and the Minucian."

Mars the Avenger. Augustus, *Deeds*, xxi.

"Upon private ground I have built with the spoils of war the temple of Mars the Avenger, and the Augustan Forum." The Mars of this temple was not to be the god of conquest; his function, rather, was to punish foreign powers which disturbed the peace of the empire. The Pantheon, which means the "all-divine," is a famous

temple originally built by Agrippa, the emperor's ablest minister.[1] In it men worshipped Mars and Venus, the chief gods of the Julian family. It still stands well preserved in what was once the Campus Martius, and is now used as a Christian church. The temple is circular and is covered by a most magnificent dome. The spec-

The Pantheon.



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IMPERIAL ROME

tator who stands within this rotunda cannot fail to see in it an emblem of the vast and durable power of Rome. Other wealthy men besides Agrippa followed the example of their prince in erecting splendid public buildings as well as residences, till Augustus could boast that whereas he had found Rome of brick, he left it of marble. This,

"A city of marble."

[1] Recent scholarship assigns the building in its present form to Hadrian; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 470 ff.

however, was merely the appearance of the new Augustan city; for the Romans continued to build most of their temples and other houses of brick, which they henceforth covered with marble slabs. Though they imported most of their marbles, they had plenty of coarser stones for all substantial works, and an excellent cement of volcanic ashes mixed with lime, which helped much to make Rome the eternal city. Nearly all the temples and other public buildings were on low ground, as about the Forum and in the Campus Martius. Augustus built his residence on the Palatine, and the example was followed by his successors, who themselves enjoyed larger and better-situated dwellings than they had given the gods.

P. 8.

Religion.

Notwithstanding the many temples, Roman society had forgotten the gods and had lost its morals. Augustus restored the ancient ceremonies of worship which had fallen into disuse; and by precept and law, he attempted to lead the people back to the old religion and to the pure, simple life of the ancestors who had made the city great. He became chief pontiff; and while he probably had little faith himself, he felt that religion was good for the masses. His work was not wholly fruitless. A poet of the age writes, "Now Faith and Peace and Honor and Antique Modesty and neglected Virtue dare return, and Plenty appears in view, rich with her overflowing horn," — the expression of a wish almost realized. As the "son of the deified Julius," Augustus came near to divinity even in Rome, while the provincials built temples in which they sacrificed to him as to a god. In fact the worship of the emperor was to be the most vital force in the religion of the Roman world till the adoption of Christianity. "He is the paternal Zeus and the saviour of the whole race of man, who fulfils all prayers, even more than we ask. For

Pp. 29, 191.

Horace, *Carmen Sæculare.*

From an inscription found in Asia Minor.

land and sea enjoy peace; cities flourish; everywhere are harmony and prosperity and happiness." Three times in his reign he closed the doors of the temple of Janus as a sign of peace throughout the empire. In one of these intervals of quiet there was born in Judea the Christ, who was to give the world new spiritual life and an ideal of perfect manhood.

Augustus, *Deeds*, xiii.

P. 28.

Through literature as well as through religion, Augustus summoned his people to lay aside the bitterness of party strife for the blessings of his peace. Under the patronage of the emperor, or of Mæcenas, his minister, the great writers aimed to purify and to ennoble the present by bringing it the life of the good and great past. Livy, the most eminent author of prose in this age, wrote a history of Rome in a hundred and forty-two books.[1] Though in his conception of the aim and methods of history he was far inferior to Polybius, whom he had read, he loved what he supposed to be the truth and the right. His sympathies were intensely republican; with his fine rhetorical training he would have been, like Cicero, a great aristocratic orator, had he lived a few years earlier. Yet he consented to work for Augustus. His love of law and order, his hatred of violence and vulgarity, served the interests of his patron, while the vast compass and the stately style of his history, like the Pantheon of Agrippa and the splendid residences on the Palatine, helped make the imperial government magnificent.

Literature.

Livy.

P. 147.

Vergil was the poetic counterpart of Livy. He, too, had an elevated style; and in his *Æneid*, a story of the wanderings of Æneas, he glorified the beginnings of Rome

Vergil.

P. 17.

[1] Books i–x and xxi–xlv, with mere summaries of the remaining books, have alone come down to us, and are our chief source for the earlier periods.

and, at the same time, the imperial family, which claimed descent from the hero of his poem. In his *Georgics* he called attention to the pleasures and the virtues of country life and of husbandry. "If the *Georgics* are the praise of labor sanctified by religion and recompensed by the gods, the *Æneid* is the eulogy of the monarchy consecrated by the divine will and protection. The two poems, therefore, were a plea in favor of that threefold restoration of the manners, the religion, and the government of early days which Augustus was striving to accomplish."

Duruy, *Rome*, iv. p. 313.

Horace.

Horace, author of *Odes* and *Satires* and of *Epistles* in verse, was the poet of contentment and of common sense, who bade his friends —

Odes, iii. 8.

> "Snatch gaily the joys which the moment shall bring,
> And away every care and perplexity fling."

Leave the future to the gods, he taught. A comfortable villa, some shady nook in summer, and in winter a roaring fireplace, good wine, pleasant friends, and a mind free from care make an ideal life. After the stormy end of the republic, the world needed such a lesson; and though he remained independent in spirit, Horace quietly served his prince.

The succession.

P. 210.

Among the cares of government, none weighed more heavily upon Augustus than his concern for the empire after his death. As he preferred hereditary succession of power in his own family, though he dared not openly profess it, he first looked to his nephew Marcellus as heir. When this loved youth died, he made Agrippa his colleague in the tribunitian power,[1] and gave him his own daughter Julia in marriage. No one now doubted that

Vergil, *Æneid*, vi. 860–886.

23 B.C.

Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 56.

[1] Some time previously Agrippa had received a share of the proconsular power; cf. p. 210.

Agrippa would be the next emperor. When he, too, died, worn out by ceaseless labor for the imperial family, his sons, Lucius and Gaius, grandsons of Augustus, though mere boys, were treated as the heirs. In youth they held high republican offices and received military commands. Both were corrupted, however, by flattery and vice. Lucius died, apparently from the effect of bad habits, and Gaius from a wound received while conducting a campaign in

JULIA, DAUGHTER OF AUGUSTUS, AND HER SONS, GAIUS AND LUCIUS
(Vatican Museum, Rome.)

the East. Finally Tiberius, who had grown to middle age in public service, became the colleague and the heir of the emperor.

"In the vigor of life, Augustus had been able to maintain his own position, that of his house, and the general quiet." But a reaction set in against his system in his old age, when he was too feeble for the varied and difficult tasks of his office. He was disappointed, too, by the failure of many of his plans, by the disaster in Germany, by the death of one heir after another, and not least by the

Death of Augustus, 14 A.D. Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 4.

P. 208.

immorality of his daughter and granddaughter, both named Julia. The literary men were growing weary of his rule and some of the nobles were plotting. Augustus was still firm; he banished the two Julias and Ovid, once a favorite court poet, and he revived against conspirators an old law of treason, which was to become infamous under his successor. He died in 14 A.D., after forty-five years of rule. His wife Livia, who had been his strong support during life, secured to her son Tiberius the peaceful succession.

P. 221.

Character of Augustus.

P. 196.

Augustus was a cold, shrewd statesman without passions or ideals, who ruled by compromise and deception. The imperial system which he introduced had many defects: worst of all, he permitted the military power to overshadow everything else; and instead of creating vital institutions which should take the place of individual caprice and despotism in the government of the empire, he continued the lifeless republican offices and the senate, whose servile flattery to the emperor concealed the assassin's dagger. Thus the dyarchy itself prophesied strife. There was needed, too, a fixed principle of succession to prevent civil war, and an organic political life for the whole empire to assure its perpetuity. But with his limited ideas and in his trying position, Augustus did what he could; and for the blessings he brought the world, "the human race decrees him a civic crown."

Pliny, *Natural History*, xvi. 3.

Tiberius emperor, 14–37 A.D.

Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 68.

Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus, "was in person large and robust, taller than common, broad in shoulders and chest," with fair complexion and large eyes. At the time of his accession, he was fifty-six years of age. A scholar and a man of peace by the traditions of his family, he had toiled from youth upward in governing frontier provinces, in commanding armies, and in rapid journeys to exposed points of the empire, wherever duty called. He now

found the treasury exhausted by the expensive works of Augustus, a hungry populace to be fed, and a cringing senate, which, while shirking responsibility, still longed for the honor and the profit of government. Certainly he must have felt there was more of bitter than of sweet in the cup he was about to drink; and he may have been sincere in his request for an excuse from further public service, or at most for a limited share in the government. However that may be, the senate voted him all the powers Augustus had held.

Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 11 ff.

TIBERIUS
(Vatican Museum, Rome.)

Immediately after his accession, the armies in Pannonia and on the Rhine mutinied. From the time Rome became a conquering state, the soldiers had received their share of booty and of the acquired lands. Now that Augustus had given the empire a policy of peace, there were no more wealthy cities to sack, no booty, and no vacant land but swamps and sterile mountain sides. The great sums

The mutiny.

Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 16–49.

of money which the triumvirs had wrung from the miserable provincials, to use in bribing whole armies, could no longer be had. The troops now fought against poor barbarians or in time of peace built military roads and other public works. But the direct cause of their mutiny was the hope of gaining some reward for a promise of devotion to the new emperor. They demanded a shorter term of service, higher pay, and more bounty. Those on the Rhine offered to support their general, Germanicus, nephew of Tiberius, if he would attempt to make himself emperor. Fortunately the commanders proved loyal, and with difficulty suppressed the outbreak. This trouble pointed toward the time when the armies should make and unmake emperors.

A peaceful reign.

Germanicus then led his legions across the Rhine and avenged the defeat of Varus. But as Augustus in his will had advised his successors not to extend the boundaries of the empire, Tiberius would not permit his nephew to waste the resources of the government in attempting further conquests. No important war disturbed the remainder of his reign; he devoted himself, therefore, to administrative work, in which he showed remarkable ability. "He was careful not to distress the provinces by new burdens, and to see that in bearing the old they were safe from any rapacity of the governors." By rebuilding twelve cities of Asia Minor which had been destroyed by earthquakes, he taught the Romans that they had duties as well as privileges in their relations with the provinces. There is no wonder, then, that the subject nations respected him.

Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 6.

The senate and the populace hate Tiberius.

The senate, however, would have preferred to see him using the public funds for pensioning noble spendthrifts, and the populace grumbled because he fed them poorly and provided no gladiatorial shows. It was in vain that he gave the senate a larger share in the government than

CAPRI
(The Villa of Tiberius was on the Summit.)

it had enjoyed under Augustus, and especially increased its importance by doing away with the assemblies. The reaction in favor of republicanism grew so strong among the nobility that it drove the emperor to a rigorous enforcement of the law of treason. Having no public prosecutor, Rome had always depended upon private informers, termed delators, for bringing accusations. Encouraged by Tiberius, these informers caused the death of several persons for treason, a few of whom may have been innocent. Not only the suspicious temper of the prince but also the moral degradation of society made the delations terrible. Greed, hatred, enjoyment of bloodshed, — in brief, all vicious and criminal passions were at their height under the early empire. No one felt safe; for each rightly judged his neighbor by himself; and the emperor could hardly restrain the senate from condemning men for the most trivial offences. This body was now the court for the punishment of misrule in the provinces as well as of other political crimes.

P. 218.

Delations.

The first half of his reign he passed in Rome, the remainder in Capri, an island off the Bay of Naples. "Its air in winter is soft, as it is screened by a mountain which protects it against cutting winds. In summer it catches the breeze, and the open sea around renders it most delightful. It commanded, too, a prospect of the most lovely bay, till Vesuvius, bursting into flames, changed the face of the country." From this retreat he still watched over the government, while he left the direct management to Sejanus, prefect of the pretorian guard which Augustus had formed for the security of the prince. This man, too, conspired against the emperor, and suffered death for his treason.

Capri.

Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 67.

Tiberius grew more and more hateful to the nobility and to the Roman mob. Not that he was especially cruel

Character of Tiberius.

or vicious; he seems rather to have been a stern, unsympathetic moralist, whose criticisms on the baseness of the nobles brought upon himself the groundless retort that he was far worse than they. He was unsocial, tactless, and economical, — qualities which would have made any emperor unpopular. Notwithstanding his faults, he was an able,

THE PALACE OF CALIGULA
(On the Palatine.)

conscientious ruler, and deserves to be counted with Julius and Augustus as one of the three founders of the empire.

Caligula emperor, 37–41 A.D. Suetonius, *Caligula*.

On the death of Tiberius, 37 A.D., the senate conferred the imperial powers upon his grandnephew Gaius, son of Germanicus. The new prince is better known as Caligula, — Little Boot, — a nickname given him by his father's troops who were fond of him. He was a favorite, too, of the senate and people, who lovingly cherished the memory of his deceased father. For a time after his accession

he won popularity by squandering the treasury on public amusements. His health was poor and his mind unsound, so that excitement and dissipation soon made him insane. Thereafter his life was a series of extravagant and grotesque caprices. He took especial delight in inflicting pain; it seems that all the brutal and murderous instincts of the Romans were now concentrated in their mad ruler. He showed, too, an excessive craving to be a god; though other emperors were regularly deified after death, he demanded worship while he still lived, and even challenged the statue of Jupiter to fight with him. Fortunately he did not live long enough to make his tyranny widely felt. He was killed by some officers of the pretorian guard; and, in the hope of a republic, the senate proclaimed the assassins "restorers of liberty." P. 221.

The Julian line.

Beginning with Julius Cæsar, each emperor thus far had adopted his successor. Although with the death of Caligula the rule passed to another family, the name Cæsar continued as an imperial title, and has even descended to the monarchs of two great modern states.

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Longitude
10° West
0°
10° Longitude
SCOTLAND
CALEDONIA
Firth of Forth
Firth of Clyde
North Sea
Baltic Sea
ENGLAND
Roman Wall
Madrian's Wall
York
BRITAIN
London
SAXONS
GERMANIA
Tribur
Treves
MARCOMANNI
QUADI
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Bay of Biscay
LUGDUNENSIS
Lyons
Milan
Ravenna
Salonae
Adriatic
Pisa
Marseilles
CORSICA
Rome
Ostia
Herculaneum
Pompeii
CAPRI
GALLAECIA AND ASTURIA
Duero R.
Tagus R.
Tolosa
Narbo
Pyrenees
SPAIN
BALEARES IS.
SARDINIA
MEDITERRANEAN
Cordova
Cadiz
New Carthage
Carthage
Adrumetum
Syracuse
Cirta
Thapsus
MAURETANIA
Sabratha
Sabratha
Sabratha

from
Greenwich
Huns
SARMATIA
SLAVS
Goths
Alans
Caspian Sea
Caucasus Mts.
Black Sea
Sinope
Trapezus
Artaxata
Araxes R.
Constantinople (Byzantium)
Nicomedia
BITHYNIA AND PONTUS
CAPPADOCIA PONTICA
Philippi
THRACE
Adrianopolis
Nicaea
Caesarea
CAPPADOCIA
Ancyra
Pergamum
LESBOS
Sardis
Smyrna
CHIOS
SAMOS
Athens
ACHAIA
Sparta
RHODES
Aegean Sea
LYCAONIA
PISIDIA
LYCIA
PAMPHYLIA
Tarsus
Antioch
Salamis
CYPRUS
Carrhae
Euphrates
Tigris R.
MESOPOTAMIA
PARTHIAN EMPIRE
Ctesiphon
Seleucia
Palmyra
Damascus
Tyre
Caesarea
JUDAEA
Jerusalem
ARABIA PETRAEA
ARABIA
Red Sea
Alexandria
Memphis
Cyrene
Berenice
CYRENAICA
Ammonium
Nile R.
Thebes
Syene
ETHIOPIA
G. W. Botsford, Del.

CLAUDIUS
(Capitoline Museum, Rome.)

CHAPTER X

FROM DYARCHY TO MONARCHY
(41–96 A.D.)

THE CLAUDIAN AND THE FLAVIAN EMPERORS

"My ancestors, the most ancient of whom was made at once a citizen and a noble of Rome, encouraged me to govern by the same policy of transferring to this city all conspicuous merit, wherever found."
— CLAUDIUS, quoted by Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 24.

THE senate would have had the imperial government end with the Julian line; but while it deliberated on the crisis, the pretorians made a new prince. These guards, whose existence depended upon the continuance of the present

Claudius emperor, 41–54 A.D.

Pp. 221, 223.

Suetonius, *Claudius;* Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 1–xii. 67.

form of government, were now the conservative power in the capital; by opposing a return to the republic, they saved the empire from anarchy. Their nominee was Claudius, uncle of the late prince. Grotesque in manners and lacking dignity and mental balance, he was generally considered a learned fool. We are surprised therefore to find him making his reign the beginning of a new era in imperial history.

He favors the provinces.

Pp. 193, 209.

Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 23–25.

P. 36.

Cf. Duruy, *Rome*, iv. p. 536. Dio Cassius, lx. 11.

Whereas Augustus had aimed to keep the provinces inferior to Italy, Claudius, by his readiness in granting citizenship to the subjects, restored Julius Cæsar's policy of equalizing the rights of the empire. His own birth in the provincial city of Lyons,[1] together with his scholarship, broadened his political vision as well as his sympathy, so that he rediscovered, in liberality, the secret of Roman greatness. We see another proof of breadth of view in his words to the Jews, whose religious freedom Caligula had hampered, "It is right that men should live in the religion of their country." In appointing governors of provinces, he used to say, "Do not thank me, for I do you no favor, but call you to share with me the burdens of government; and I shall thank you if you fulfil your duty well." For the first time the Romans heard that office was not merely an honor, but a trust to be faithfully discharged. Mingled with this humane wisdom was firmness in punishing offenders, in putting down revolts, and in protecting frontiers. One of his generals conquered southern Britain and made of it a Roman province.

Suetonius, *Claudius*, 17.

Pp. 186, 238.

Humane legislation.

P. 343.

His home policy was marked by humane legislation in favor of slaves. As many, to save themselves trouble and expense, were accustomed to expose their sick slaves on the island of Æsculapius, the doctor god, Claudius enacted that

[1] Ancient Lugdunum.

all who were treated thus should be free, and that any one who killed a sick or aged slave should be liable to the penalty for murder. Another care was to prevent famine at Rome by keeping the city well supplied with grain. With this end in view, he insured importers against loss by storms at sea; "he granted great privileges to those who built ships for that traffic;" and he dug a new harbor at Ostia. He also built two magnificent aqueducts, begun by his predecessor, one of which, named after himself, the Claudia, was noted for the purity of the water. Later emperors continued to build aqueducts, till all of them together poured into Rome more fresh water each day than the Tiber now empties into the sea.

Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25.

Ib. 19 f

The relation of Claudius with the senate we may characterize as armed peace. Notwithstanding many plots against his life, he would have no informers or law of treason, but preferred to surround himself with soldiers, who even waited on his table and accompanied him into the senate-house. Though he respected the senate, he did not trust it; and he had himself made censor to weed out the most disloyal members. It was chiefly through the censorship that succeeding emperors encroached upon the senate till they usurped all its powers. His distrust of the nobles and knights led him, further, to employ his own freedmen as helpers and ministers. They were probably as able and as honest as the senators,— which is no high praise,— and they were certainly more faithful to the prince. His employment of them, however, was another step in the direction of monarchy.

Claudius encroaches on the senate.

Suetonius, *Claudius*, 13, 16, 28, 35.

Pp. 211, 238.

The worst feature of the reign of Claudius was the evil influence of his wives, the last of whom was Agrippina, his niece. When he died, 54 A.D., people suspected that she had poisoned him. However that may be, she secured the imperial powers to Nero, her son by a former marriage. As

Nero emperor, 54–68 A.D.

Suetonius, *Nero*; Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 68–xvi. 35.

the new emperor was only seventeen years of age and showed more taste for dancing and music than for official work, the government for the first ten years of his reign was in the hands of Seneca, his tutor, and Burrus, pretorian prefect. Both were able men and, on the whole, well meaning.

AGRIPPINA — MOTHER OF NERO

(National Museum, Naples.)

Seneca.

Duruy, *Rome*, iv. p. 572 ff.

Seneca was a rhetorician and a philosopher of the Stoic school, which taught that virtue alone is sufficient for happiness, that a man should rise above all passions and follow the higher motives of reason. Man, it asserted, is

lord of his own life and may end it when he thinks fit. This severe, practical philosophy suited well the character of the Romans. From the later republic to the adoption of Christianity, many found in it a guide to self-discipline. But though Seneca studied more deeply than any Roman before him, though he saw clearly the beauty of truth, of kindness, of all the virtues, he lacked the moral force necessary for living up to his convictions. While preaching poverty, he amassed a colossal fortune by dishonest means; and so far from checking the vices of the young prince, he even aided him in crime.

The provinces.

As Seneca was born in Spain, he had no reason for favoring Rome and Italy more than the provinces. To be sure he and Burrus plundered some of them, but they would permit no others to do so. Accordingly the empire prospered under their administration. From the beginning of the imperial period, too, the subjects had been gaining great influence over the appointment and the conduct of their rulers. The complaints of a province generally led to the deposition and punishment of the governor; at the end of his term a vote of thanks by the provincial assembly assured him further political advancement. "Formerly," said Thrasea in the senate, "not prætors and consuls alone, but even private citizens used to be sent to provinces to inspect them and report on the loyalty of the subjects; and the nations were timidly sensitive to the opinion even of these private persons. But now it is we who carry our homage and flattery to them. . The meanest of them decrees thanks, or more eagerly accusations, concerning us. So each administration begins firmly but ends feebly, — our proconsuls are no longer severe judges, but rather candidates for popular suffrage." The speaker, a narrow republican, did not know how glorious was this

Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 21 (abridged).

change which had come over the world. "Let the provincials retain the right to accuse for extortion," he continued, "for we cannot take it from them, but let us take away their right of voting thanks to ex-governors." Although this evil resolution was adopted, fortunately it fell into disuse at the death of Nero. Another improvement in the condition of the human race came with the law requiring the prefect of the city and the governors of provinces to receive the complaints of slaves who were suffering ill-treatment from their masters. An ancient custom which demanded the death of all slaves whose masters had been assassinated so shocked the feelings of the people in this reign that it could be enforced only with the help of the soldiers.

Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 43 ff.

Death of Burrus and of Seneca.

Burrus died in 62 A.D., and as Nero began to take the government into his own hands, Seneca retired to private life. Accused of sharing in a conspiracy, he killed himself by order of the emperor. The men of this age did not hesitate to die, but they knew not how to live and fight for freedom and principle. By recommending suicide, Stoicism aided tyranny.

Personal rule of Nero, 64–68 A.D.

Though the personal rule of Nero was a capricious despotism, it was short, and reached the provinces only when near its end. He was vain and extravagant, but his acts of cruelty were few. In estimating his character we must bear in mind that Roman society was then a cesspool of impurity, "where all things hideous and shameful from every part of the world found their centre and became popular." Nero stood above the average Roman in taste and perhaps even in morals; the prince was worthy of his people. At least, he usually avoided the bloody shows of the arena and interested himself in harmless arts. When a great fire destroyed the larger part of

Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 44.

Rome, he sheltered and fed the sufferers, and helped rebuild their houses. The worst blot on his reign was the persecution of the Christians on the groundless suspicion that they had caused the mischief. Many were condemned. "Mockery of every sort was added to their deaths. Covered with the skins of beasts, they were torn by dogs and perished, or were nailed to crosses, or were doomed to flames and burned to serve as a nightly illumination" of the prince's gardens. The Romans, who as yet knew little of the Christians, considered them a sect of Jews, and despised them because they then belonged to the lowest class of society. Nero's persecution, however, was only a sudden outburst of ferocity which did not extend beyond the city.

Nero was himself suspected, with little reason.

Ib.

There was a fundamental difference between the Christians and the best of the Romans of this age; while Seneca conceived high ideals of virtue, which he expressed in sounding words, St. Paul, his contemporary, lived and died nobly. Abundantly supplied with ideas, the old world had grown too feeble to produce a hero; the Christians, however ignorant, stubborn, and even quarrelsome some of them may have been, were making the world new by bringing into it the spirit of their perfect Master.

Christians and Romans.

P. 263.

Reaching the provinces at last, the tyranny of Nero stirred up revolt, and the empire rapidly drifted away from him. Galba, governor of Hither Spain, was proclaimed emperor. Nero fled from the city and took refuge in a dingy cell provided by a freedman. A few attendants stood about him. "Some one show me how to die," he begged, but no one obeyed. The end was drawing near. The senate had declared him a public enemy, and he heard the tramp of approaching horses. "Pity that such an artist should die!" he said as he stabbed himself.

The end of Nero.

The military revolution, 68–69 A.D.

Tacitus, *Histories*, i–iii; Suetonius, *Galba; Otho; Vitellius.*

An able ruler of his province, Galba was too indiscreet and obstinate to be successful in his new and trying position. After ruling a few months he was killed by the pretorians, who transferred their allegiance to Otho, once a roisterer in Nero's youthful society. The troops on the Rhine, however, nominated their general Vitellius to the imperial office and marched with him against Rome. After

A Triumphal Procession with the Seven Golden Candlesticks

(A Relief on the Arch of Titus.)

a feeble resistance Otho killed himself. Vitellius, now emperor, though a good-natured man, was a sluggard and a monstrous eater. He used to invite himself to dine with one noble after another, and generally bankrupted his host by a single meal. Meantime Vespasian, procurator of Judea, was offered the imperial purple by the troops of the East, who in turn overcame and killed Vitellius. Thus in little more than twelve months, Rome saw the making of

P. 205.

four emperors, one a candidate of the pretorians, the others of the armies of the frontier. It was natural that those who protected the empire should claim a voice in selecting the ruler, and that, in the absence of a representative system, the armies, in substituting civil war for the ballot, should take the place of the old republican assemblies. This military revolution had some good results: it lessened the political value of the capital, and it ended in giving the empire an able ruler. In fact Vespasian was the first in a line of princes trained in the camp, — uncorrupted by the impure atmosphere of Rome, able, experienced, and broad-minded, — who were to give the empire its most prosperous era.

Vespasian emperor, 69–79 A.D.

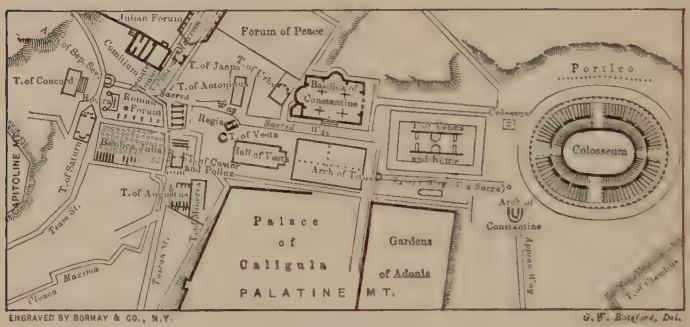
In appearance as well as in birth Vespasian was plebeian. He was short and stumpy, with large neck, broad chin, and hooked nose; his little eyes never rested, and his face was deeply furrowed with care. On his accession he had great difficulties to meet, for again the empire seemed on the verge of disruption. For some time the Jews had been in fierce revolt against rulers who had oppressed them and had permitted insults to their religion. Their uprising threw the entire East into a ferment, while in the West, Civilis, a freedman, aspiring to the imperial office, led the tribes of the lower Rhine in rebellion, and at the same time the recent civil war made the future of Rome itself uncertain.

Tacitus, *Histories*, iv, v; Suetonius, *Vespasian*. Josephus, *Jewish War*.

Titus destroys Jerusalem, 70 A.D.

The emperor was equal to the emergency. One of his generals suppressed the revolt in Gaul; his own son, Titus, was left in Judea to besiege Jerusalem, the strongly fortified capital of the Jews. As they refused to accept any terms offered them, no quarter was thereafter given. It was a war to death. The Jews believed that God would protect his holy temple, and that at the critical moment the

Messiah would come to save his people from the oppressor and to make them rulers of the world. They fought therefore with fanatic zeal, and as famine threatened they even ate human flesh. When, after a five months' siege, the Romans stormed the city and the temple, the Jews killed their wives, their children, and then one another as the lot determined, so that the victors found nothing but flames and death. More than a million Jews were destroyed during the siege; not a hundred thousand were taken captive. It is interesting to notice that the temple of the



THE SACRED WAY

Capitoline Jupiter was burned about the same time as that of Jehovah; but while the Roman god soon received a new dwelling, Jehovah's temple remained in ruins; his worship could no longer be limited to a single house or province, for it was to be universal.

Better feeling between the prince and the senate.

This reign began a new era in the relations between the senate and the emperor. As the old republican nobility, which had considered the prince a usurper, was now dying out, Vespasian recruited it with new families from Italy and the provinces, — the ablest and the most loyal he could find. Thus the senatorial order became again a nobility

Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 9.

P. 138.

of merit, which henceforth, instead of conspiring against the prince, generally supported him. The knights, recruited in like manner, devoted themselves in increasing numbers to the imperial service. Pp. 227, 252.

Better morals and education.

These provincial families brought better morals into the society of the capital, to replace the depraved life which Rome had inherited from the republic. There was a corresponding change in education. Whereas the old families had trained their children in republican traditions by means of private tutors, the sons of the new nobility learned the broader and more wholesome lessons of the present under public instructors endowed by the emperor. Quintilian, a famous rhetorician, occupied such an endowed position for twenty years.

Public works.

Nero and his immediate successors had neglected the roads, the fortifications, and the public buildings, and yet had left the government nearly bankrupt. To refill the treasury and to repair the public works, Vespasian increased the taxes of the empire. With his careful management of the revenues, he had money for education, for the help of unfortunate cities in the provinces, and for new buildings at Rome. The most famous of his works is an immense amphitheatre, usually known as the Colosseum, on the low ground surrounded by the Palatine, the Esquiline, and the Cælian Hills. It has the form of an ellipse, and is said to have seated eighty-seven thousand spectators. Here the Roman people gathered to see the combats of gladiators, and of men and savage beasts. Sometimes, too, the arena was converted into a lake, on which naval battles were fought. No other monument now standing illustrates so well the grandeur and the depravity of Rome. As Vespasian died before completing this work, Titus finished it. The latter also erected the arch which bears his name, at

The Colosseum (Flavian Amphitheatre). P. 347.

The Arch of Titus.

the highest point of the Sacred Way which leads from the Colosseum through the Forum to the Capitoline Hill. This arch commemorates the conquest of the Jews. The reliefs represent features of the triumphal procession: on one side, the car of Titus; on the other, men carrying the

THE COLOSSEUM OR FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATRE

spoils, including the "seven golden candlesticks" of the temple at Jerusalem.

Titus emperor, 79–81 A.D.
Suetonius, *Titus*. 1.

Titus had quietly succeeded his father. His benevolence toward citizens and subjects alike made him the most popular of the emperors, "the delight and the darling of mankind." "Of all who petitioned for any favor, he sent none away without hopes. And when his ministers represented to him that he promised more than he could perform, he replied, 'No one ought to go away downcast from his prince.' Once at supper, reflecting that he had favored no one that day, he uttered this memorable and justly admired saying, 'My friends, I have lost a day.'" As chief pontiff he thought it his duty to keep his hands undefiled; and accordingly after accepting that office he

Ib. 8.

would condemn no man to death, however great might be the offence. In fact he was too indulgent to be just; this easy temper made his successor's task more difficult.

The chief event of his reign was an eruption of Vesuvius. For ages this volcano had been inactive, so that the Campanians had fearlessly covered its sides with vineyards, while wild boars inhabited the woods on the top. In the reign of Nero an earthquake shook all Campania and injured the cities near the mountain. Finally, in 79 A.D., the fearful eruption took place which buried Pompeii, a city of twenty thousand inhabitants, Herculaneum, and some smaller places. In bringing Pompeii to light, — its

Destruction of Pompeii, 79 A.D.

Pliny, *Letters*, vi. 16.

A Body found in Pompeii

(Museum of Pompeii.)

temples, shops, and dwellings, with their statues, wall-paintings, furniture, and tools, — modern excavations have afforded an invaluable opportunity for the study of ancient life and civilization.

After ruling but two years Titus died and was succeeded by Domitian, his younger brother. Unlike Titus, the new prince was interested in books, but without experience in military affairs. Though the empire was rarely at peace,

Domitian emperor, 81–96 A.D.

Suetonius, *Domitian*.

The northern frontier.

his reign was noted for unusual activity along the northern frontier. Agricola, an able general, extended the boundary of the province of Britain to Caledonia, the modern Scotland, and built a frontier wall from the Frith of Clyde to the Frith of Forth. The emperor himself took the field against the Germans. During his reign the troops in this quarter were engaged in building a wall and a series of forts from the upper Rhine to the upper Danube. These defences, begun by Vespasian and completed long afterward by Hadrian, protected an exposed part of the boundary. In fact a line of fortresses extended from the mouth of the Rhine to the mouth of the Danube. The Dacians, who lived north of the Danube and who were fast adopting Roman civilization, invaded the empire. In his war with them Domitian met with so little success that he granted them favorable terms of peace, and gave their chief valuable presents, which the enemies of the prince maliciously termed tribute.

Tacitus, *Agricola.*

P. 251.

The Dacian War, 85–89 A.D.

The administration.

Throughout his reign Domitian held the government firmly in hand. Able men commanded on the frontier, and the provinces were probably never better ruled than under him. At home he chastised vice with an iron hand, and tried to force upon society the austere moral standard of the primitive Romans. An autocrat by nature, he worked systematically to gain entire control of the government and to put the senate beneath him. With this end in view, he held the consulship continually and had himself made perpetual censor, while he gained the support of the troops by increasing their pay. His hatred of the senators was inflamed by the discovery that many of them shared in the conspiracy of Saturninus, a rebellious governor of Upper Germany. From that time to the end of his reign, he was a terror to the nobility as well as

Suetonius, *Domitian*, 8.

P. 227.

to the Stoics, whose teachings glorified conspiracy and "tyrannicide." Meantime a plot developed in his own household. His wife Domitia, fearing for her own safety, induced some servants and pretorians to murder him. Tacitus, *Agricola*, 2 f.

The emperor has a double face.

"Like their god Janus, the Roman emperors have a double face." In estimating their character we must bear in mind that the one most hateful to the nobility was often the most just and merciful protector of the provinces. So it was with Domitian. History composed in the senatorial circle has branded him a tyrant; if the subject nations could speak, they would bless his memory. Duruy, *History of Rome*, iv. p. 732. P. 257.

Literature of the period.

The intellectual life of this period is closely connected with the political development. The literary activity of the Age of Augustus was too brilliant to be lasting. Even before his death a decline set in from two causes: first, from mere exhaustion of literary energy; and second, from the changed relation between the prince and the writers. Weary at length of sounding the praises of their patron, these republican spirits showed their real nature to be hostile to the new government. Their conduct drove Augustus to harsh measures, — for instance, to the banishment of Ovid. Developing the later policy of Augustus, Tiberius not only refused to patronize literature, but even repressed freedom of speech. He acted on the correct understanding that writers and speakers alike voiced the sentiments of the nobility who opposed him. Had that party striven manfully to limit the power of the prince, or to displace him by a better form of government, it would have claimed a large share of our sympathy. But it failed to create a single political idea. Conscious that government by the senate was no longer possible, it nevertheless looked back to the republic for ideals, — especially to the murderers of Cæsar. Though the world might admire individuals for P. 218.

their bold independence, it had nothing to hope from a party which strove only to return to a past its impotence and tyranny had disgraced.

Velleius Paterculus.

In the reign of Tiberius, Velleius Paterculus, who had long served his emperor as an army officer, wrote a short *History of Rome* to the year 30 A.D. The earlier period he treated briefly, his own age with greater fulness. Wordy and pompous, he is fairly accurate in his statements of fact. Undoubtedly sincere in his admiration of Tiberius, he overflows with eulogy, like a partisan rather than a calm-tempered historian. The same criticism applies to a contemporary, Valerius Maximus, who wrote *Memorable Acts and Sayings* in nine books. The object seems to have been to supply the youth with material for declamations. The work is untrustworthy, but contains some interesting and useful information.

Valerius Maximus.

Poetry.

Among the Romans, history as well as oratory was partisan. With this limitation neither branch of literature could thrive under Tiberius and his immediate successors. Poetry and philosophy had more scope. The *Satires* of Persius show the author to have been a pure-minded moralist imbued with Stoicism. He wrote under Nero. About the same time Lucan, nephew of Seneca, the philosopher, composed an epic poem, the *Pharsalia*, on the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey. Like his uncle he was a provincial, and for a time he stood well at the court of Nero. But falling into disfavor, he finished his poem as an ardent republican. Afterward he was charged with conspiracy, and killed himself by order of the prince. Most writers of the age, considering a simple style insipid, sought to attract attention by rhetorical bombast, far-fetched metaphors, and other unnatural devices. In this respect they reflected the artificial society in which they

Persius, 34–62 A.D.

Lucan, 39–65 A.D.

lived. An exception to the rule is Petronius,[1] who wrote a satirical romance in twenty books, of which we have some fragments. He is coarse, yet natural and vigorous, and his work throws light on the corrupt society of the day. Petronius.

Seneca, the philosopher, shared with his age the striving after brilliancy in language. Nevertheless he gives evidence of the broader, deeper thought which the provinces were bringing Rome. A great improvement in this direction came with the Flavian princes, who patronized literature and introduced fresh life from the provinces. In this age Pliny the Elder wrote a *Natural History* in thirty-seven books. In addition to the natural sciences, it included geography, medicine, and art. An encyclopædia compiled from two thousand different works, it is a great storehouse of knowledge. What Pliny did for science Quintilian, a native of Spain, already mentioned, achieved for rhetoric. His *Training of the Orator*, in twelve books, gives a complete course in rhetoric, beginning with the boy and ending with the well-equipped public speaker. The work is valuable not only for the famous author's principles of rhetoric, but also for his opinions of the leading Greek and Latin writers.

Philosophy and science. Seneca. P. 228.

P. 234. Pliny the Elder.

"SENECA"
(Museum of the Terme, Rome.)

Quintilian, 35–(about) 100 A.D. P. 235.

[1] Probably Nero's "master of pleasure," mentioned by Tacitus, *Annals*, xvi. 18.

Other fields of learning.

Other fields of learning were cultivated, as rural economy, military strategy, and law. The tyranny of Domitian's later years again repressed literature. In his time Martial, a pensioned court poet, wrote brilliant *Epigrams*. Unexcelled in his special kind of poetry, he was weak and immoral, and represents therefore the worst side of society rather than its ideals. Meantime the thorough reforms of Vespasian were helping bring a brighter era, not only in political life, but also in literature and in morals.

Sources

Reading.

Tacitus, *Annals*, xi–xvi; *Histories; Agricola;* Dio Cassius lx–lxvii (after 47 A.D. in an epitome); Plutarch, *Galba; Otho;* Suetonius, *Claudius; Nero; Galba; Otho; Vitellius; Vespasian; Titus; Domitian;* Josephus, *Jewish War;* Eutropius vii. 13–22; works of Lucan, Seneca, Petronius, Persius, Pliny, Quintilian, and other contemporary writers (p. 206 ff); *The New Testament.* Cf. Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. x.

Modern Works

Duruy, *History of Rome* (IV, V), chs. lxxiv–lxxviii; Merivale, *History of the Romans* (V, VI), chs. xlix–lxii; **Taylor,** *Constitutional and Political History of Rome*, ch. xix; Bury, *Student's Roman Empire*, chs. xv–xxii; Capes, *Early Empire* (epochs), chs. iv–xix; Allcroft and Haydon, *Early Principate* (tutorial), chs. xii–xx; Baring-Gould, *Tragedy of the Cæsars*, 2 vols.; Freeman, *Historical Essays*, ii: The Flavian Emperors; Mahaffy, *Greek World under Roman Sway*, chs. i–xii; Rydberg, *Roman Days*, pp. 48–147 ('Emperors in Marble'); Dyer, *City of Rome*, sec. iv; *Pompeii, its History, Buildings and Antiquities;* **Mau,** *Pompeii, its Life and Art;* Boissier, *Rome and Pompeii;* Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, pp. 7–44; Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*, i. pp. 1–77; other works on church history, p. 247; Mackail, *Latin Literature*, bk. III; Cruttwell, *History of Roman Literature*, bk. III. chs. i–vi; Simcox, *Latin Literature*, II pts. iv–vi; Bulwer, *Last Days of Pompeii* (a novel).

CHAPTER XI

THE LIMITED MONARCHY

(96–180 A.D.)

The Five Good Emperors

"If the intellectual ability of kings and magistrates were exerted to the same degree in peace as in war, human affairs would be more orderly and settled." — SALLUST, *Catiline*, 2.

Nerva emperor, 96–98 A.D.

As soon as the senate heard of the death of Domitian, it conferred the imperial powers upon Nerva, one of its members, a man who was now about sixty-five years old, and whose life was without reproach. He in turn agreed to put no senator to death. By this act and by granting the senate a due share in the administration, he changed the government from a tyranny, such as it had been under Domitian, to a constitutional monarchy. To commemorate this event, the government struck coins bearing the inscriptions, LIBERTAS PVBLICA — public liberty — and ROMA RENASCENS — Rome reborn. Tacitus, the historian, who considered all the earlier princes usurpers and tyrants, declared that Nerva had united two things hitherto incompatible, monarchy and liberty.

Tacitus, *Agricola* 3.

An era of good feeling.

For a long time events had been leading up to this era of good feeling. The old nobility, whose republican sympathies were confined to Rome, or at most to Italy, and who had considered the emperor a tyrant, was now nearly extinct; a new nobility, abler and broader-minded, chosen

P. 234.

by the emperor, saw in him a patron and friend. And as the imperial government had passed the experimental stage, and had become permanent, the prince could again permit freedom of speech; he could even overlook the now harmless declamations on the virtue of Brutus. Had it not been for Domitian's fierce war upon the senate, we could have dated the beginning of this era with the accession of Vespasian.

NERVA
IN HIS CONSULAR ROBE
(Vatican Museum, Rome.)

Weakness of Nerva.

Nerva corrected the worst abuses of the preceding reign, and put an end to the law of treason, which Domitian had revived. He then advised his subjects to forget past wrongs in the happy present. Like Titus, he was too amiable to be a just and vigorous ruler. Pliny the Younger, who lived at this time, exclaimed, "The empire is falling down upon the emperor's head!" When Nerva found himself unable to control the pretorians, he adopted as his son and successor the able general Trajan, then commander in Upper Germany.

Pliny, *Panegyric*, 6.

Trajan emperor, 98–117 A.D.

Nerva died in the second year of his reign, and the purple robe passed to his heir. Whereas the earlier princes had all been Romans or Italians, Trajan was the first pro-

vincial emperor. He was from Spain, a country which had already furnished Rome many men of learning and of letters. In contrast, too, with the earlier emperors, who were uniformly peaceful, he was ambitious for conquest. In two wars he subdued Dacia, a great country north of the Danube, and converted it into a Roman province a thousand miles in circuit. The work of settlement and of organization followed rapidly upon the conquest. While the emperor found land here for his veterans, other colonists poured into the province from various parts of the empire. Engineers, architects, and workmen built roads and fortresses. Miners found iron and gold in the Carpathian Mountains. Merchants travelled to and from the province along the new highways. The native population either fled from the country or adopted the speech and habits of the colonists; and though these settlers were of various nationalities, the Latin language prevailed, and even the Roman name has survived there in the modern Roumania.

101–102, 105–106 A.D. Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. p. 221 ff.

As a memorial of this conquest the emperor built a forum between the Capitoline and the Quirinal on a spot he had levelled for the purpose by cutting away the ridge which had previously connected the two hills. The chief adornment of the new forum was a marble column a hundred and twenty-eight feet high, covered by a spiral band which winds about it from base to summit, and which tells in sculptured reliefs the story of the conquest, — marches, battles, sieges, the building of camps, the burning of towns, the care of wounds, the slaughter of prisoners, the last scene in the life of the Dacian chief Decebalus, and the presentation of his head to the populace of Rome. Though Trajan's own account of the Dacian wars has been lost, this "chiselled picture-book" gives us valuable knowl-

Trajan's Column.

Duruy, *Rome*, v. p. 246 ff (for illustrations).

edge not only of the campaigns but of the military habits of the Romans and of the Northern barbarians.

Eastern conquests.

After a few years of quiet administration the emperor undertook the conquest of the East. One of his generals

THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

had already conquered Arabia, and had made a province of it. There was no difficulty in finding a pretext for war with Parthia, the only great power in the East; for the

Parthian king had placed a nephew on the throne of Armenia, which he now looked upon as a vassal state. As Rome had long claimed this country, Trajan took the field in person to expel the intruder. When this easy task was done, Armenia became a province. The emperor ought then to have organized and fortified it as he had done in the case of Dacia. But neglecting this needful work and foolishly emulating Alexander the Great, he invaded the empire of the Parthians as far as their capital, Ctesiphon, a city on the Tigris River. Thence he descended to the Persian Gulf. As he there saw a ship bound for India, he regretted that old age prevented him from following in Alexander's track to that famous, far-off land. Meantime the provinces he had hastily established about the Tigris and Euphrates fell to pieces, and their population rose against him. His return march, in which he pretended to suppress the revolt, was in fact a disastrous retreat. While on his way to Rome he fell sick in Cilicia, and died there — apparently of a fever and of disappointment at the failure of his hopes. 117 A.D.

We shall now return to his administration. Following Nerva's policy, he treated the senators as his equals. "We no longer see a master here," Martial exclaimed, "but the most just of senators." As a guarantee of freedom, he had them vote by ballot, instead of openly as heretofore, but some of them proved unworthy of the privilege by writing coarse jokes on their ballots instead of the names of candidates. The emperor knew well that such men were incapable of ruling, and accordingly, though they continued to talk much, he granted them less actual power than they had enjoyed under Augustus. The consuls, too, had lost much of their importance, as their term had been gradually reduced to two months. But the republican institutions

Trajan's administration. *Epigram*, x. 12.

P. 211.

P. 238. suffered the severest loss from the emperor's exercising the duties of the censor without having formally received from the senate either the office itself or the authority which belonged to it. By thus converting this main prop of the nobility into an imperial power, Trajan advanced beyond his predecessors in the direction of monarchy. Intelligent men understood the situation. "It is true," says Pliny, "that all is done according to the will of one man, who, for the common interest, takes upon himself alone the cares and the burdens of all." Men like Pliny, however, regarded Trajan as a parent rather than a tyrant. Parental rule may indeed be excellent while it lasts; but it cannot be perpetual, and it renders those who live under it unfit for self-government.

Letters, iv. 20.

Italy.

P. 194. This growing power of the emperor appeared in Italy and in the provinces as well as in Rome. When the finances of a municipium fell into disorder, Trajan would send it an agent — *curator rei publicæ* — to control its accounts. Such an imperial officer gradually usurped authority until, after a century or two, he deprived the community of self-government. In Trajan's time, however, the institution was only helpful. Italy had never prospered under Roman rule; the burdens of war and the competition of slave labor in the provinces had wasted the life of the Italians, and had reduced the remnant of their race to beggary. To recruit the population, Trajan founded colonies in Italy, and better still, he lent the municipia considerable money which they were to invest on the security of land, that they might have the interest to use for the maintenance of poor children. At one date in his reign we find the municipia providing thus for five thousand children. Pliny tells us the object of this institution: "These children are reared at the expense of the state, to be its supporters in war, its

P. 134 f.

Pp. 335, 337.

ornament in peace. Some day they will fill our camps and our tribes; and from them will arise sons who will no longer need assistance." The example set by the emperor found many followers both in Italy and in the provinces. Though the avowed object was to increase the strength of the armies, the institution was humane; we see in it a sign of the moral improvement of mankind. *Panegyric*, 28.

The municipia.

One of the most important acts of Trajan's reign was the senatorial decree which permitted a municipium, like a person, to receive bequests. In consequence, wealthy men over all the empire began to will property to their towns to be used for public works. Accordingly in every part of what was once the Roman world the traveller now finds the ruins of bridges, aqueducts, and other buildings, which date from this prosperous era. Although the emperor aided such works, the provinces, the towns, and private persons furnished the greater share of the cost.

The provinces.

As the emperor placed his agents in municipia, wherever and whenever he saw fit, a governor interfered at pleasure in the administration of the towns of his province. In special cases he referred everything to the prince. For instance, Pliny, when ruler of Bithynia, a province which had fallen into disorder, consulted Trajan on such trivial matters as the building of a public bath, the removal of a tomb, and the repair of a sewer. The interest of the emperor and the governor in the welfare of the towns is praiseworthy; but this minute interference was to end long afterward in the destruction of municipal freedom, the life of ancient society.

Summary of administration.

Trajan's administration was energetic, just, and humane. He had the strength to punish evil-doers; he repealed oppressive taxes; and costly as were his wars and his buildings, he laid no new burdens on his people. In his

personal expenses he practised the strictest economy, and his wife Plotina was as frugal and as thrifty as he. Like Livia, she was the emperor's able helper, and when he died, her tact brought to the throne the man who had stood highest in her husband's favor.

PLOTINA, WIFE OF TRAJAN
(Vatican Museum, Rome.)

Hadrian emperor, 117–138 A.D.

The heir was Hadrian, a kinsman of the late emperor both by birth and by marriage. He was already well known as an able general and provincial governor, thoroughly experienced in military and administrative affairs. In addition to these talents he had a broad education, a scholar's tastes, and a restless desire to be always seeing, learning, and working.

His new foreign policy.

Of his twenty-one years of rule — 117–138 A.D. — he spent thirteen or fourteen in travelling through the provinces. "Careless of the difference of seasons and of climates, he marched on foot and bareheaded, over the snows of Caledonia and the sultry plains of Upper Egypt; nor was there a province which, in the course of his reign, was not honored by the presence of the monarch." One

Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, i. p. 9.

object of these journeys was diplomatic. Hitherto Rome had generally considered foreign nations enemies, and had encouraged them to exterminate one another for her own advantage. Though Augustus had begun a better policy, Hadrian was the first who labored systematically to make the border races allies. These friendly neighbors, little less civilized than the provincials, were to surround the empire, like an outer bulwark, against the formidable barbarians beyond. To maintain peace without increasing the army, he found it necessary to abandon all his predecessor's conquests excepting Dacia and Arabia.

His military reforms.

Another object of his travels was to improve the armies and to strengthen the frontier defences. He banished playhouses and other demoralizing pleasures from the camps; he dismissed "beardless tribunes," who had received appointments through favoritism; and in his own words, he restored "the discipline of Augustus." For the legion he substituted a new and improved form of the phalanx; he introduced heavy-armed cavalry, and advised his officers to study carefully the military systems of various foreign states, with a view to adopting from them whatever might be found useful. Under him the armies were so well exercised and trained that they could perform wonderful labors in marching and in building. Among his frontier defences the best known is the so-called Wall of Hadrian, which extends across northern Britain from near the mouth of the Tyne to Solway Firth. Originally it consisted of two parallel moats and walls strengthened by a series of turrets, castles, and camps. Equally important was his completion of the defences between the Rhine and the Danube. By such fortifications as well as by his military reforms, he gave the empire new strength for resisting the assaults of the barbarians.

P. 46.

P. 238.

Public works. Besides these military improvements, he built temples, theatres, and aqueducts in every part of the empire. At Athens he completed the Olympieum, a great temple begun by Pisistratus more than six hundred years before him. He was fond of Athens, and encouraged her professors of rhetoric and philosophy by large bounties, by regular salaries, or by appointments to office.

Botsford, *Greece*, p. 73.

Increasing importance of the provinces. A tendency of his travels through the empire and of his administration in general was to increase the importance of the provinces and to diminish that of the capital. His division of Italy into four districts, each under a judge,[1] was the first distinct step toward making it a province and Rome a municipium. A corresponding change was taking place in the position of the senate. Deprived of most of the authority Augustus had left it in the provinces and in Italy itself, it gradually came to be a mere city council.

Civil service. The amount of administrative business in the hands of the prince had greatly increased since Augustus. Before Hadrian the members of the emperor's household and a few knights had helped in this work. To him, however, is chiefly due the creation of a civil service, — a complex system of offices, with special functions for each, and with regular promotions from the lowest to the highest.[2] It was a further misfortune for the senate that the knights alone were employed in these duties. The emperor needed especially a great number of revenue officials, for he had abolished the farming of taxes and had undertaken to collect them directly. Preparatory to a vigorous financial

P. 193.

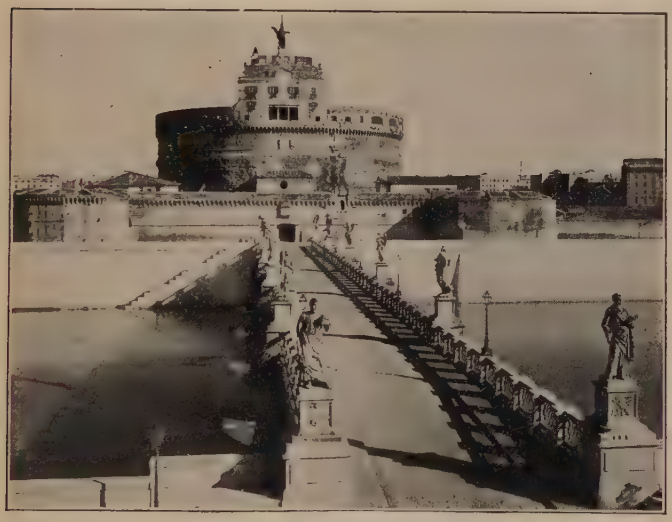
[1] These judges — *iudices* — were withdrawn by Antoninus Pius, but reëstablished by Marcus Aurelius under the name of *iuridici*.

[2] Most of these officials were prefects and procurators. They were wholly distinct in nature from the old magistracies, — consulships, prætorships, etc., which continued as before.

administration, he remitted all taxes due on his accession and burned the accounts in Trajan's Forum.

The highest place in the purely civil service was that of imperial treasurer. More important still, and second only to the emperor, was the pretorian prefect, — now usually a jurist, — whose duties henceforth were judicial as well as military. The emperor, who had great respect for the

The privy council.



THE MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN
(The Tiber in the foreground.)

jurists, made up his privy council of men of this class, some of whom were senators, others knights. Such a body of advisers had existed informally from the time of Augustus, but Hadrian made it a recognized imperial institution.

By his thorough reforms he put the machinery of government, as well as the military system, in such order that it continued to run with little repair for more than a hundred

Summary of reforms.

years. Underlying all his work we find this principle, — the armies, the governors, Rome, and the emperor existed for the welfare of the provinces. As he was the first real monarch, he was likewise the first servant of the empire.

Antoninus Pius, emperor, 138–161 A.D.

Antoninus, surnamed Pius,[1] the heir of Hadrian, was the first emperor from Gaul. He was a man of estimable character who loved justice and peace. His reign is noted for humane legislation. Especially he limited the right of the master to torture his slaves for the purpose of extorting evidence;[2] and he originated the legal principle on which all trials are now conducted throughout the civilized world, that an accused person should be considered innocent till proved guilty. Enlarging on the charitable policy of Trajan, he set aside an endowment for orphan girls, whom he called Faustinianæ, after his wife Faustina. His long reign, unmarked by events, was prosperous and happy, not from his own ability, however, so much as from the excellent condition in which his predecessor had left the empire.

P. 248.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, emperor, 161–180.

When he died the imperial powers passed to Marcus Aurelius, his adopted son, a native of Spain. This emperor associated with himself as colleague Lucius Verus, his brother by adoption; so that Rome was ruled for a time by two Augusti. Verus sought only pleasure; Aurelius was a Stoic philosopher, whose chief aim was to do his duty toward his fellow-men. But he had little time to give to books and meditation; for the easy disposition of his predecessor had left him a great legacy of troubles. On his accession, he found war brewing along the northern and eastern frontiers. The troops of Syria had grown too

Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations.*

[1] Either from his reverence for his adoptive father Hadrian, or from his courteous treatment of the senate.

[2] Hadrian had already restricted this custom to some extent.

effeminate to resist the invading Parthians; but fortunately there were good generals in the East, the ablest of whom was Avidius Cassius. A Syrian by birth, but of the old Roman type of severity, he put the licentious troops on coarse rations, burned the disobedient, and restored discipline. He defeated the Parthians, overran their country, and compelled them to sue for peace. Rome retained a part of Mesopotamia.

War with Parthia, 162–166 A.D.

166 A.D.

Meantime a fearful pestilence was raging in the East; and as the troops returned from the war, they spread the disease over the eastern half of the empire and over Italy itself. It weakened the army; in some places, as in Italy, it carried off perhaps half the population; and the efforts to relieve it so drained the treasury that the prince lacked funds for the defence of the empire. The enemies of Rome were growing formidable. All Europe beyond the frontier was full of restless tribes, which threatened the civilized countries of the Mediterranean. The Parthian war was scarcely done when they broke into the empire in a continuous line from northern Italy to the farthest limits of Dacia. The leaders were the Marcomanni, a powerful Teutonic nation who lived in what is now Bohemia, and who gave their name to the war.

Pestilence.

The northern frontier.

Aurelius sold the crown jewels to provide means for the war; and for want of better material he recruited the army with slaves and gladiators. Both emperors took the field, and when Verus died in the following year, Aurelius continued the war alone. After seven years of hard fighting he won an honorable peace, which, however, was broken while he was engaged in putting down a revolt of Avidius Cassius in the East. As soon as he had finished this work, he returned to the Danube, and conquered both the Marcomanni and the Iazyges, a Slavic tribe on the west of

First Marcomannic War, 167–175 A.D.

Second Marcomannic War, 178–180 A.D.

Dacia. He was about to make their countries into provinces when death cut short his work.

Administration of Aurelius.

In his administration he followed the lines marked out by his predecessors, yet with a disposition to waste the revenues in gifts to the populace and to the soldiers. His treatment of the Christians we shall consider in another connection, and shall now turn our attention to the intellectual, moral, and religious condition of the age.

P. 264.

The limited monarchy.

The long struggle between the prince and the senate which began in the later years of Augustus came to an end with the death of Domitian. The prince triumphed; the nobles recognized the monarchy as a necessary evil; on this understanding the "good emperors" gave them liberty, and their organ, the senate, a certain degree of political influence. Thus the dyarchy developed into a limited monarchy.

Pp. 218, 220, 227, 234, 238, 243.

The literature of the period.

This political change affected literature; the sufferings of republicanism under Domitian, followed by the happy reigns of Nerva and Trajan, produced the last great writers of classic Latin, Tacitus and Juvenal. One wrote history, the other satire, yet with a kindred spirit. The *Annals* and the *Histories*[1] of Tacitus cover the period from the death of Augustus to the death of Domitian. Besides these larger works he wrote a monograph on the *Life and Character of Agricola*, the conqueror of Britain, and another, the *Germania*, on the character and institutions of the Germans of his time. His experience as an army officer and a statesman gave him a clear understanding of military and political events. He was conscientious, too, and though he made little use of documents as sources, we may

Tacitus, 55–120 A.D.

P. 293 ff.

[1] Of the *Annals* we have bks. I–IV, parts of V and VI, and XI–XVI, with gaps at the beginning and end of this last group of books; of the *Histories* there remain bks. I–IV and the first half of V.

trust his statement of all facts which were known to the public. His style is exceedingly rapid, vivid, and energetic. His excellences as an historian, however, are balanced by serious defects. Though he owed his seat in the senate to Domitian, he belonged to the strictest circle of aristocrats, who were out of joint with the times and blocked the way of progress. Hatred of the "tyrants" from Tiberius to Domitian, and the bitterness he felt because of his party's failure, supplied him with inspiration for his gloomy narrative. He wrote in the reign of Trajan, when the empire was at the height of prosperity, the happiest age in ancient history; and yet he utterly ignored the blessings the imperial government had brought the provinces. Rome was everything to him; and within this little world, the aristocrats alone were worthy of his sympathy. We should not look for fairness in so narrow a mind. To most critics his chief merit lies in his dramatic portrayal of character; but his prejudice led him unconsciously to invent bad motives even for the best acts of the emperors, especially of Tiberius. His characters, however vivid and self-consistent, are the product of his gloomy, bitter imagination. Valuable as his work is to one who can distinguish between fact and fancy, it is as much satire as history.

Juvenal.

Like the historian, Juvenal, author of *Satires*, was powerful and dramatic. With the inspiration of wrath and in the spirit of Tacitus, he looked back to the society of Rome under Nero and Domitian to find in it nothing but hideous vice. The pictures drawn by the historian are indeed grand and fascinating; those of the satirist repel us by their ugliness; the works of both masters are unreal.

Decline of literature.

When Rome renounced the republic, so far as to consider her emperors good, she lost her motive for literary

art. Her writers became shallow and insipid, without thought or imagination, who could only repeat and spoil what they had read. At the head of this class we may place Pliny the Younger, an orator, and for a time governor of Bithynia. One of his speeches, a eulogy on Trajan, which has come down to us, is an example of the tiresome, feeble style of the day. His *Letters*, polished yet trivial, are valuable for the study of the times. Less praise belongs to Suetonius, Hadrian's secretary, whose *Lives of the Cæsars* from Julius to Domitian is a chaotic mixture of useful facts and foolish gossip.

Pliny the Younger.

Suetonius.

Jurisprudence.

This decline in Latin literature by no means signifies a loss of intellectual power. Rather, forsaking an art in which their nation had always been inferior to Greece, men of ability now preferred administrative work; or they devoted themselves to jurisprudence, for which the Romans possessed real genius. The jurists had become the chief legislators, whose views found expression in the decrees and judgments of the emperor. In Hadrian's reign, Salvius Julianus, one of their number, collected and systematized the edicts of all past prætors in a code which, under the title Perpetual Edict, had henceforth the authority of law, subject to modification by the emperor alone. Julianus was the first of those eminent jurists who labored to perfect the Civil Law, which to this day remains the basis of most European codes.

Salvius Julianus.

Romanizing the West.

The tendency of legislation in this age, as has already been noticed, was to improve the condition of slaves, and of women and children, and to equalize the rights of freemen. Connected with this advancement was the process of Romanizing the provinces which was going on rapidly in all the empire west of Greece. First Cisalpine Gaul had adopted the Latin language and civilization, then most

Pp. 248, 254.

of Transalpine Gaul and Spain. These countries became so thoroughly Roman that with their fresh life and excellent education they gave Rome eminent poets, scholars, and even emperors. The same was coming to be true of Africa. Roman civilization gained a foothold, too, in Britain and prevailed in Dacia. Along with the progress of culture, individuals and entire communities continued to receive

Pp. 186, 241, 245, 254.

A Roman Bridge
(Toledo, Spain.)

either the full Roman citizenship or the slightly inferior Latin rights. This change greatly improved the condition of the provincials, for the citizen commanded respect, and in case of a capital charge against him, he could appeal to the emperor.

Hellenic culture in the East.

The task of giving the East one civilization had already been accomplished by the Greeks. From old Hellas to India theirs was the language of learning, of commerce,

and of diplomacy; in the Eastern provinces Greek as well as Latin was official. Their race supplied Rome with schoolmasters, business men, architects, and artists. Athens and Rhodes were the centres of learning, — the great university towns, so to speak, to which Rome sent her sons.

P. 336.

Hellenic literature.

Appian. About 90–100 A.D.

160 A.D.

Arrian.

Pausanias.

Plutarch, 46–120 A.D.

Murray, *Ancient Greek Literature*, p. 395 f.

Lucian.

A revival of Hellenic literature in this age produced some authors of unusual merit. Appian of Alexandria wrote a narrative *History of Rome*. It is true that he was uncritical, yet this may be said of nearly every ancient historian. Large parts of his work have come down to us, and are valuable. The writings of Arrian, a contemporary, included the *Anabasis of Alexander*, practically a biography of the great conqueror, patterned after the like-named work of Xenophon. In this age, too, Pausanias compiled his *Tour of Greece*, which describes the classic monuments of that country. "Above all, Plutarch wrote his immortal *Lives*, perhaps the most widely and permanently attractive work by one author known to the world." Another original genius, Lucian, in bright *Dialogues*, satirized philosophy, religion, and society. His work will always be interesting. While the Greeks were producing literature, they did not neglect science. Galen, the physician of Marcus Aurelius, wrote many works on anatomy and medicine. Ptolemy published a system of astronomy, in which he represented the earth as the centre of the universe. His views were accepted for more than a thousand years, till they were superseded by those of Copernicus.

1473–1543 A.D.

The Græco-Roman world.

It is a remarkable fact that while Rome was civilizing the West she was falling more and more under the influence of Greece. Whereas Augustus and Tiberius had been thoroughly Roman in character, the emperors from Clau-

dius to Aurelius were controlled by Hellenic ideas. In fact the empire was a Græco-Roman world, in which the Greek continued to be a powerful humanizing force. Under the Antonines the empire was at its best. Agriculture,

MARCUS AURELIUS IN HIS TRIUMPHAL CAR
(Palace of the Conservatori, Rome.)

commerce, and the arts flourished through the entire circuit of the Mediterranean. Wealth abounded and many people were happy. Græco-Roman government and law, industry, manners, ideas, and religion, under the peace of Rome, produced this universal prosperity. But the height

of development is the beginning of decline. It was not till after Marcus Aurelius, however, that the empire showed unmistakable signs of decay in the wearing out of old institutions and in the exhaustion of strength. Meanwhile fresh forces and vital ideas, already setting in, were to transform the old world into the new.

From ancient to mediæval life.

The Germanic race.

One of the two chief forces to bring about this great change was the Germanic race, to which belonged the Marcomanni. In the course of his wars Aurelius enlisted many of these barbarians in his army and settled many in the provinces and in northern Italy. This process, carried on by his successors, did much to destroy the Græco-Roman character of the empire and to make it Germanic. At the same time it had an important social result. Such colonists, — *coloni*, — though personally free and liable to military service, were bound to the soil, which they had to till but could not own. Many peasants, too, whom poverty reduced to a similar state, were likewise called coloni, which thus came to mean "serfs." This new form of tenantage probably began on the emperor's estates, whence it extended to the lands of private persons. Gradually a considerable part of the free rural population fell into serfdom, and meantime numbers of slaves were elevated to the same condition. This social class was to be an important element of mediæval life.

Pelham, *Imperial Domains and the Colonate.*

Christianity.

P. 256.

The second force which tended to revolutionize the world lay in Christianity. For the multitude of Græco-Roman gods it substituted Our Father in Heaven; for bloody sacrifices, pure worship; for learning, love; for law, the Sermon on the Mount. This religion arose in Judea, but St. Peter carried it early to the "Gentiles," and St. Paul preached it even in Rome. Everywhere the lower classes eagerly accepted a faith which esteemed the slave

equal to the emperor. Under this dispensation the humblest on earth were the greatest saints, and all who shared in it enjoyed the comforting hope of eternal happiness.

Persecution of the Christians.

During the first century of our era, the followers of Christ attracted little attention.[1] The learned and the powerful alike considered them unworthy of notice, and the government, which protected the public worship of all the races within the empire, included the Christians with the Jews. Discovering, however, that the Christians were a distinct sect, the Romans came gradually to regard them as a menace to existing society and government. Unlike the Romans, the Christians were intolerant of all other religions and exceedingly aggressive in making new converts. To keep themselves free from idolatry they refused to associate with others in social and public festivities, an attitude which won for them the evil name of "haters of mankind." In like manner their refusal to worship the *Genius*, or guardian spirit, of the emperor was naturally construed as impiety and treason. The government, always suspicious of secret meetings, could see nothing but danger in those of the Christians, whose church was, in fact, a great secret society with branches in every city and town. A class of people, too, who objected to military service seemed useless to the State. These were the chief reasons why they were persecuted. Their hostility to the old-world religion, so intimately connected with the well-being of the empire, was in fact a merit. In defending their general character, however, we must not assume that they were ideal beings. Many of them, when accused, obstinately defied the authorities and courted martyrdom. Such unwise conduct widened the chasm

Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 44.

P. 231.

[1] The persecution under Nero was exceptional; cf. p. 231.

between the civil power and the new Church. The leaders, too, by wrangling over minute points of doctrine, added further disrepute to their cause.

The Christians under Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius.

The civil authorities throughout the empire proceeded, accordingly, to punish the Christians for real or imaginary offences against law and order. We find Trajan, however, instructing Pliny, governor of Bithynia, not to hunt them down or to receive anonymous charges against them, but to condemn those only who were openly known as Christians. Milder treatment no one could expect. Hadrian discouraged persecution, and made informers responsible for any outbreaks their accusations might cause. His successor, the gentle Antoninus Pius, though a restorer of the ancient religion, himself persecuted no one. Nevertheless in his reign popular hatred forced the magistrates in some of the cities to torture and kill prominent Christians.

The Christians under Marcus Aurelius.

Under Marcus Aurelius a change came for the worse. As popular dislike of the Christians excited tumults in many cities, he ordered those who confessed the faith to be beaten to death. This measure he regarded as necessary to the peace of the empire; otherwise he paid the Christians little attention. Their trouble came chiefly from the people, who regarded them with superstitious hatred. Pestilence, famine, and other calamities demanded victims; and accordingly the mob raged at the Christians. Riots broke out against them in Lyons. Here as elsewhere their enemies asserted, on mere rumor, that in their religious meetings they were guilty of gross immorality and feasted on children! One of the new faith writes, "First we were driven away from the baths, buildings, and all places open to the public; then we had to suffer the insults, blows, and violent acts of an infuriated multitude." Holding the Christians responsible for the dis-

177 A.D.

Letter of a Christian from Lyons, Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, iii.33.

turbance, the authorities began to torture them and to throw them to the beasts in the amphitheatre for the amusement of the spectators. By this means many perished. One of the number, Blandina, a slave, who took the part of mother to her fellow-sufferers, is now revered in Lyons as a saint. In other places similar scenes were

ROMAN BATHS
(Nimes, France.)

enacted. So far from helping the empire, however, or its decaying gods, persecution strengthened the new faith and made it more aggressive.

Sources

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(for social and intellectual life, and for provincial administration); Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations;* Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, i–v. Cf. Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. xi; Fling, *Studies in European History*, i. pp. 126–144 (selections from Pliny's *Letters*); *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History* (University of Pennsylvania), IV. i: Early Christian Persecutions. For the contemporary writers of this age, see p. 221 ff.

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The Triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus

CHAPTER XII

THE GROWTH OF ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

(180–337 A.D.)

From Commodus to Constantine

Commodus, 180–192 A.D.

It was a misfortune to the empire that Marcus Aurelius had an unworthy son, especially as this excellent emperor, in nominating a successor, lacked the strength to pass beyond his own family in favor of some capable person. Under good rulers, the empire might long have continued prosperous; as matters stood, the decline began with Commodus, son of Aurelius. He was a weak-minded young

man, easily misled by vile companions. The enjoyment of power made him vain, brutish, and cruel. While he pursued base pleasures and fought wild beasts in the amphitheatre, the empire fell into disorder. The soldiers lost discipline along with their respect for their ruler; and many deserted to find a livelihood in robbery. The provinces were misgoverned, and the capital was at the mercy of the pretorians, who were no longer under control. After twelve years of such government, at once weak and savage, Commodus was strangled by a young athlete set upon him by Marcia, the emperor's concubine, who headed a conspiracy.

Pertinax, 193 A.D.

His successor was Pertinax, who had already proved his ability as a commander, and who now applied himself with great energy and success to the restoration of order. He had ruled scarcely three months, however, when the pretorians revolted against his severe discipline and murdered him. Thereupon they offered the purple robe to the highest bidder. Didius Julianus, a wealthy senator, bought it by a promise to pay each of them a sum equivalent to about twelve hundred and fifty dollars. At the same time he assured them they should have all the license they had enjoyed under Commodus. When news of these disgraceful proceedings reached the troops on the frontier, it made them indignant. The armies in Syria, on the Danube, and in Britain nominated their own commanders to the office of emperor, and each prepared to enforce its will by arms. Septimius Severus, governor of Pannonia, who had the best army and was nearest Rome, won the prize. As he approached the capital, his nomination was confirmed by the senate, which had already decreed the death of Julianus.

Julianus, 193 A.D.

Septimius Severus, 193–211 A.D.

Severus was the first emperor born in Africa, — a firm, clear-headed man who knew well the needs of the empire.

First he banished the ungovernable pretorians from Rome, and made up a new guard of forty thousand troops selected, according to merit, from the armies. He then conquered and killed his two rivals, Niger, governor of Syria, and Albinus, of Britain. He humbled the Parthians, and near the end of his reign he fought in Britain against the Caledonians. The arch which commemorates his victories still stands in the Forum.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS
(Capitoline Museum, Rome.)

The emperor and the army.

The greater part of his energy, however, he devoted to improving the administration and to increasing the strength of the empire. As his authority rested upon the armies, he did not hesitate to slight the senate. Under him, therefore, this body lost much of the influence it had enjoyed in the preceding period; in fact his reign marks an important step in the direction of absolute monarchy. The theory that the emperor was above the laws found expression and support in the teachings of the lawyers who formed his council. Papinian, perhaps the ablest of

The jurists. P. 253.

P. 253.

Roman jurists, lived at this time, and held the office of pretorian prefect. It has been said of him that his love of justice equalled his knowledge of it; and in the following reign he sacrificed his life for the sake of right. Ulpian, a younger contemporary, was scarcely less eminent. Through them and their associates, Roman law reached the height of development; later jurists did little more than systematize the material already existing.

Equalization of rights.

The legislation of the great jurists affected the whole empire; for even before the death of Severus most of the provincials were Roman citizens under the protection of Roman law. As this emperor had no reverence for the senate or for republican traditions, he aimed to place the provinces on a level with Italy. His son and successor, Caracalla, completed the development of ages by an edict which made all the freemen of the empire Romans.[1] Unfortunately citizenship was now becoming a burden. Severus had increased the number and the pay of the troops, and his son was a heedless spendthrift. Military service and special taxes on citizens had therefore grown oppressive; and those whom Caracalla made Romans had to take upon themselves the burdens of citizenship in addition to those they had borne as subjects. Thus the benefit was offset by disadvantages. In fact the author of this reform cared only for his soldiers; toward all others he was recklessly brutal. At length Macrinus, a pretorian prefect, had him murdered, and reigned in his stead.

Caracalla, 211–217 A.D.

Macrinus, 217–218 A.D.

Bassianus — "Elagabalus," 218–222 A.D.

Macrinus was soon overthrown in battle by Bassianus, who in turn became emperor. He was a cousin of Cara-

[1] Though all freemen were now citizens, certain distinctions of privilege remained; some communities enjoyed Roman rights without limitation, others Latin rights, and still others Italian rights. But this classification is no longer important.

calla, and though a mere boy, was priest of Elagabalus, a Syrian sun-god notorious for his unclean worship. This ruler is known by the name of his deity, whom he took to the capital and magnified above all other gods. The impurity of his rites shocked even Rome. While his grandmother ruled for him, he indulged in his sensual worship for four years, when the soldiers of the guard killed him in a mutiny.

Alexander Severus, 222–235 A.D.

His cousin and successor, Alexander Severus, was an amiable youth, mentally gifted and of excellent moral character. But it was unfortunate that at a time when the duties of the imperial office called loudly for a man of energy and iron, the prince should be merely a good-natured dreamer. As he was but fourteen on his accession, the government rested with his mother, who in turn was assisted by the jurist Ulpian, prefect of the guard, and by a council of senators. Reversing the policy of Septimius and Caracalla, this administration looked to the senate to counteract the growing influence of the army. Not only in his respect for republican traditions, but also in his patronage of education, in his attention to the needs of the poor, and generally in his policy of mildness and justice, Alexander was a faint imitation of the good emperors. He was too weak, however, to maintain discipline among the soldiers or to defend the empire.

The new Persian empire.

In his reign a new danger to the Roman world arose in the East. Nearly four centuries before his time, the empire of the Parthians had succeeded that of the Seleucidæ. It extended from the Euphrates to India, and before Trajan's invasion it had rivalled Rome in power. From that date, however, it began to decline; the ruling dynasty of the Arsacidæ tried in vain to hold the multitude of subject nations together. The Persians, who were the

P. 120.

P. 246.

most vigorous of these tributary races, asserted their independence, and, in 227 A.D., Artaxerxes, their king, the founder of the dynasty of the Sassanidæ, overthrew the Parthian monarch and made the empire Persian. An official change of religion followed this political event. The Arsacidæ had introduced Greek civilization and even the Greek gods into their empire. The native religion of the Persians, on the other hand, as taught by their ancient prophet Zoroaster, was a dualism, — the worship of Ormazd, the spirit of Good and of Light, against whom the dark and evil Ahriman forever warred. The believer hoped that in the end the Good Spirit would triumph, and would reward his worshippers according to their merits. In its best form this religion approached nearly to a monotheism, whose zealous priests, the magians, could tolerate neither Christianity nor idols. Supported by Artaxerxes, the eighty thousand or more magians undertook to suppress every other form of worship in the empire. Their religious fervor strengthened the monarch and made him aggressive in the interest of his god. At the same time his talent for organization gave him a military power which the Arsacidæ had not commanded for generations.

War between Rome and Persia.

As the successor of the great Cyrus, who had founded the earlier Persian empire, Artaxerxes claimed all Asia, and ordered Alexander Severus to confine his authority to Europe. This demand led to a war, in which the Romans seem to have been disgracefully beaten. Though the Persian king failed to enforce his extravagant claim, his empire continued thereafter to menace Rome; it compelled her to weaken the northern defences in order to mass troops on the Euphrates, at a time when the Germanic races were threatening invasion.

After his conflict with Persia, Alexander went to war against the Germans on the Rhine; but before he could accomplish anything there, he was murdered by his soldiers. The imperial guard had already killed Ulpian, their prefect, and had terrorized the government as well as the residents of Rome. Thus a reign, in some respects

Death of Alexander Severus, 235 A.D.

SARCOPHAGUS OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS AND HIS MOTHER

(Capitoline Museum, Rome.)

happy, ended in failure, — a pleasant twilight before a period of gloom.

During the half century which followed the death of Alexander, the government suffered continual violence, as emperors rapidly rose and fell. Sometimes two colleagues shared in harmony the imperial office; more frequently rivals for the throne involved the empire in civil war; rarely did a wearer of the purple die a natural death. About the middle of this period of confusion the empire

Drifting into anarchy, 235–284 A.D.

260 A.D.

seemed to be falling into fragments; each army nominated its commander to the highest office, and these rival pre-
268 A.D. tenders, wrongly numbered and misnamed the "Thirty Tyrants," brought the Roman world to anarchy.

Inroads of the barbarians.
251 A.D.

While civil war wasted the empire and drew the armies from the frontier, the enemies of Rome met with their first real success in assailing her. On the north the Goths, a Germanic race, after plundering Mœsia and Macedonia, defeated and killed the emperor Decius. At nearly the same time their western kinsmen, the Franks on the lower Rhine, pushed across the boundary, between the Roman
260 A.D. garrisons, and desolated Gaul. Soon afterward King Sapor, the energetic son of Artaxerxes, took the emperor Valerian captive. The civilized world seemed defenceless. The Alemanni, of Germanic race, flung themselves upon northern Italy, and in combination with them a vast horde of Goths, including women and children, crossed the Danube to seek homes within the provinces. Fortunately at
268–270 A.D. this crisis Rome found an able ruler in Marcus Aurelius Claudius, who drove back the Alemanni, and destroyed the invading host of Goths.

Aurelian,
270–275 A.D.

His successor, Aurelian, the most competent emperor since Septimius Severus, withdrew the last garrisons from Dacia, — which he gave over to the Goths, — and brought the boundary once more to the Danube. This was the first territory lost to the empire. He then destroyed an army of the Alemanni, who had again invaded Italy. As the barbarians thus began to threaten the capital itself, he surrounded it with a wall, which is still standing, — a magnificent work, yet a monument of the weakness and decay of Rome. Two great fragments had recently broken from the empire: in the East, Queen Zenobia, from her splendid court in Palmyra, ruled Syria, Egypt, and a large

part of Asia Minor; in the West, the senator Tetricus was emperor of Gaul, Britain, and northern Spain. By conquering both these pretenders, however, Aurelian restored the unity of the empire. 274 A.D.

He showed equal energy in administration. Simple and frugal in his personal habits, in public he appeared like an Oriental despot, surrounded with grand ceremony and

A despot of the Oriental type.

THE WALL OF AURELIAN

requiring his subjects to worship him, — a "Lord and God" who brooked no interference from his senate. But before he could reform the government according to these new ideas, his life was cut short by an assassin. The army and the people honored him after his death as one who had been a worthy ruler. His great achievement was the restoration of the empire to a condition which enabled it to endure through successive reigns, till Diocletian, a still abler man, put on the purple robe. 284 A.D.

A century of revolution, 180–284 A.D.

More than a century had intervened between the death of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and the accession of Diocletian, — a period of weakness in the defence of the empire, of internal violence and anarchy. Let us now summarize the causes, the character, and the results of this long revolution.

The causes of the revolution.

The happiness of the Roman world under the good emperors was chiefly due to the wisdom of a line of rulers who were able to secure the good will of the senate and of the populace of Rome, the subordination of the pretorians and of the army, and the respect of surrounding nations. A system, however, in which so much depends upon the accidental succession of able rulers cannot be lasting. No sooner had the weak Commodus come to the throne than the forces of destruction began to appear. While the interior provinces, enfeebled by centuries of peace, passively bore the burdens of taxation and permitted interference with the liberties of their towns, the populace of

P. 156.

Rome, since Gaius Gracchus, had not ceased to be revolutionary. When scantily supplied with amusement and food, it threatened the government and the peace of the world. The interests of the senate, which was still influential, often clashed with those of the monarch or the soldiers. The pretorians, too, established as a guard of the emperor's person, were ready to kill him in order to secure a gift from his successor. The armies on the frontier, recruited chiefly from the border provinces, contained nearly all that was left of the discipline and the virtue of the Roman world. After nominating the emperors Galba,

P. 231 ff.

Vitellius, and Vespasian, they had forgotten their political power till they learned it anew from the insolent guards of Commodus. Not least among the causes of alarm were the waves of barbarians dashing at intervals over the borders;

against this storm Rome itself, in situation as well as in the character and the traditions of the inhabitants, was ill suited to serve as a centre of resistance.

The weakness and brutality of Commodus precipitated the revolution. The pretorians not only trampled upon the senate and the residents of the capital, but also asserted a right to make and to unmake emperors. Then the

The character and results of the revolution.

A Capital from one of the Temples in Palmyra

(Temple ruins in the background.)

armies, jealous of the pampered guard, fought against it, against the senate, and against one another. This civil war, after rendering the pretorians helpless and depriving the senate of its last remnant of authority, decided that the sovereign should be a general, the choice of the soldiers who protected the empire. Though this result was in some measure good, the rival claimants for the office, by their civil strife, threatened to break up the Roman world into

a multitude of warring states. To prevent such a disaster, it was necessary to strengthen the imperial office. As the task of government seemed too great for a single ruler, more than one sovereign in this period tried the experiment of sharing his duties and his honors with a colleague. Again, as the collapse of old institutions and of the old nobility exposed the emperor more than ever before to the knives of assassins and to the pikes of mutinous soldiers, he sought new safeguards for his person and his authority. He put on a crown and a silken robe which sparkled with jewels and gold; he claimed to be a god, and compelled his subjects to prostrate themselves before him, thus placing his authority on the basis of divine right; and he surrounded the throne with the circles of a new nobility of various grades, each attended by its appropriate degree of pomp and ceremony. Finally Rome ceased to be the capital in all but name, as the soldier-emperors took up their abode at the posts of danger, and issued their decrees from the provincial cities.

Diocletian secures the results.

It was the work of Diocletian to discover the trend of the revolution and to embody its results in institutions, most of which remained permanent. A freedman's son and a soldier by profession, he made his way to the imperial office by genius and force of will. As emperor he devoted twenty-one laborious years to the discharge of his high trust. Amid conflicting political forces as amid the dangers of war, he continued calm and dignified, while his masterful intellect commanded obedience and respect.

His plan of administration.

He first chose as colleague Maximian, a rough but able soldier. Although each emperor bore the title Augustus, Diocletian remained superior. They divided the Roman world between them, Diocletian taking the East and his colleague the West. Later two Cæsars, Galerius and Con-

stantius Chlorus, were appointed as heirs of the Augusti. Each of the Cæsars received likewise the administration of a definite territory. Retaining the extreme East for himself, Diocletian gave Galerius the provinces on and near the Danubian boundary; Maximian governed Italy, Africa, and Spain; and Constantius, Gaul and Britain. Thus the most dangerous and laborious posts were assigned

TEMPLE OF THE SUN

(Baalbec, Syria.)

to the Cæsars. Each of the four rulers chose a convenient city for his capital and appointed a pretorian prefect to aid him in administering the civil affairs of his district, which was named therefore a prefecture. They divided the four great prefectures into twelve dioceses, which they placed under vicegerents — *vicarii*. The dioceses consisted each of several small provinces, of which there were now more than a hundred in all. The provinces were gov-

erned, according to their importance, by proconsuls, by *correctores*, or by presidents, who in turn commanded the service of a host of lower officials. As a rule the provincial governors obeyed the vicegerents, who received their orders from the prefects, each of whom, in turn, was under a Cæsar or an Augustus. Military and civil duties were now distinct. Corresponding with the civil offices just mentioned were masters of troops, dukes, counts, and lesser military officials. The nobles who filled the higher civil and military positions were the Honorable, the Respectable, and the Illustrious.[1] Above the Illustrious was the rank of Cæsar, and, highest of all, Augustus was Most Sacred Lord. This system finally equalized the empire. As Rome ceased to be the capital, the senate became essentially a city council, and Italy was divided into provinces. The new organization of the Roman government and society here outlined was mainly the work of Diocletian, though it began before him and received additional touches later from Constantine the Great.

Troubles follow his reign, 305–323 A.D.

The empire was enjoying peace and good order in 305 A.D., when Diocletian resigned his authority and compelled Maximian, his colleague, to do the same. Thereupon the two Cæsars became Augusti, and new Cæsars were appointed to take the place of the old. Immediately Diocletian's system, in most respects admirable, proved defective in the provision for the succession. It appeared, too, that the senior Augustus lacked the means of holding his colleague and the Cæsars to their respective duties. These high magistrates, together with other aspirants for power who arose from time to time, involved

[1] *Clarissimi, Clarissimi et Spectabiles, Clarissimi et Inlustres.*

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

UNDER

DIOCLETIAN and CONSTANTINE

SCALE OF MILES

100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500

For Chapters

Longitude E

30°
40°
50°
45°
40°
35°
30°
25°
20°
30°
Huns
Don R.
Alans
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
Goths
Danube
Sinope
Constantinople
Nicomedia
Nicaea
D. OF PONTUS
D. OF THRACE
D. OF ASIA
D. OF MINOR
MOESIA
D. OF DACIA
PERSIAN EMPIRE
Tigris R.
Euphrates
Antioch
Palmyra
CYPRUS
RHODES
CRETE
Aegean Sea
GREECE
ILLYRIA
CYRUS
MACEDONIA
NEAN SEA
PREFECTURE OF THE EAST
ARABIA
Alexandria
Cyrene
WESTERN EMPIRES.
EGYPT
Nile R.
Red Sea
G. W. Botsford, Del.

the Roman world in civil wars, till Constantine, known to history as the Great, the son of Constantius Chlorus, became emperor of the West and Licinius of the East. Though Constantine gave his sister in marriage to Licinius, he afterward fought against him, took him captive, and put him to death. Thus, in 323 A.D., the empire was reunited under Constantine as sole monarch. His reign was marked by two important events, — the public recognition of Christianity and the selection of Byzantium as the capital of the empire.

Constantine the Great. 312 and 313 A.D.

Notwithstanding all opposition the Church had grown rapidly since Marcus Aurelius. The last and severest persecution began under Diocletian and was carried on by Galerius, his successor in the East. When at length Galerius saw that he could by no means destroy the Christians or suppress their faith, he granted them toleration and requested their prayers for his welfare. On the other hand Constantius Chlorus, emperor in the West, had favored them from the beginning; and his policy was inherited by his son. Though the Christians still formed a small minority — possibly a twentieth — of the population, for two reasons they were remarkably strong: first, whereas the pagans were lukewarm in the interests of their gods and of their political leaders, the Christians were energetic and zealous; and second, they had a thorough organization, patterned after that of the State.

Growth of the Christian Church. P. 265. 303–311 A.D.

311 A.D.

In the beginning each congregation had been independent. It had its officers: deacons who cared for the poor; elders, or presbyters, who as the council of the church looked after its interests; and an overseer, or bishop, the chief of the presbyters. In course of time, as the church of a given city sent out branches to neighboring towns and rural districts, the bishop of the parent commu-

Organization of the Church. Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, p. 97.

nity came to have authority over a group of congregations. Again, among the bishops of the age of Constantine, some differences of rank and of influence were already appearing. Those of a province looked for guidance to the highest religious officer of the provincial capital, who though essentially a bishop, was usually called a metropolitan. Above him in dignity were the patriarchs of such cities as Antioch and Alexandria, while the bishop of Rome was acquiring the greatest influence of all. In brief, the government of the Church was becoming a monarchy. In another way, too, the Christian world was learning to act in unison. The religious officials of a province frequently met in council; and sometimes a gathering represented a much larger area. Thus the tendency to centralization was already strong in the Church.

Constantine is converted, and publicly recognizes Christianity.

Constantine saw the advantage he might derive from the support of this powerful organization. Accordingly he and Licinius, in 313 A.D., issued their famous Edict of Milan, which granted toleration to all religions, without exception, and raised Christianity to an equal footing with paganism. To keep the good will of the pagans, Constantine continued to support the worship of the ancient gods; at the same time he professed the new faith, and encouraged it rather than the old. Let us not imagine that his avowed conversion improved his character. He continued to be what he had been,—a man without heart or scruple, more pagan perhaps than Christian, ready to serve himself by hypocrisy or bloodshed. Nevertheless, as a far-sighted statesman, he worked consistently for the best interests of the empire.

The council of Nicæa, 325 A.D.

In his time the Church was becoming more and more distracted by quarrels over points of belief. In spite of the fact that Jesus had taught no system of doctrine, the

leaders of the Church, especially in the East, were attempting to build up an intricate and subtle theology, patterned after the philosophic systems of the Greeks. As they had little basis for their views, they naturally differed on many points. The chief of all controversies was that between two Church officials of Egypt, — Athanasius and Arius, — concerning the nature of Christ. Although both admitted that He was the Son of God, Arius maintained that the Son had come into existence later than the Father and was by nature inferior to Him. On the other hand, Athanasius asserted absolute equality between the Son and the Father. In order to strengthen the Church by securing uniformity of belief on this as well as on other points, Constantine called a council of bishops from all parts of the world to meet at Nicæa, a city in northwestern Asia Minor, to settle the disputes and to decide upon a creed which all should accept. By adopting the view of Athanasius, the council made it orthodox, while that of his opponent became a heresy. The West readily accepted the Nicene Creed, as this decision is called; and in this manner it has come down to the Roman Catholic Church and to most of the Protestant denominations of to-day; but Arianism continued widespread in the East.

Increased strength of the Church.

The council of Nicæa was the first gathering which professed to represent the entire Christian world. The institution of such a general council, to meet as occasion demanded, added greatly to the power of the Church in its contest with paganism, and exalted the clergy to a place no religious body had ever held before.

Constantinople.

Constantine took a step next in importance to the recognition of Christianity, when he chose as his residence the Greek city of Byzantium, henceforth named Constantinople after himself. It was admirably situated for commerce,

and was much nearer than Rome to the frontiers of the Danube and the Euphrates, which especially needed defence. As the East and the West were drifting apart, it was of the utmost importance that each division should have a capital and a stable government. Partly as a result of this act of Constantine, the Eastern, or Byzantine branch of the empire continued nearly to the discovery of America, when it was overthrown by the Turks. Milan had in fact become the capital of the West, but Rome enjoyed the

THE BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE

honor of a nominal headship, and the favor of the emperor in her public improvements. The triumphal arch of Constantine stands near the Colosseum, and the ruins of his great basilica may be seen on the north side of the Sacred
P. 234. Way, between the Colosseum and the Forum. But Roman architecture had sadly declined; the ornaments of the arch just mentioned were stolen from that of Trajan. Rome had lost everything but her monuments and her memories of the past. The senate, the city plebs, and the traditions of the republic could not reach the monarch who sat in Oriental

state on his throne in Constantinople, and who neglected Jupiter for the worship of Jehovah and of Jesus. Yet Rome was to see better days. In her bishops she already had the earlier members of a succession of religious monarchs, — the popes, — who were to become more powerful than the Cæsars had been, and whose palaces and cathedrals were to make the eternal city the most splendid in the world of to-day.

Summary of Roman constitutional development.

In Constantine the long constitutional development of Rome reached its height. First petty kings had given way to an aristocratic, warlike republic, which extended its power and became imperial. Then, when great personalities like Pompey and Cæsar began to overshadow the freedom of the ruling class, the senate saved for itself a share of power and a tradition of liberty by dividing its authority with the ablest citizen, who in time became a monarch by gradual usurpation. The relation between the monarch and the senate, though fairly adjusted under the good emperors, was disturbed by the hundred years of revolution, which ended in basing authority on divine right, on a hierarchy of officials, and on the power of the sword. This triple basis of Diocletian's system Constantine preserved and strengthened. He retained the prefectures and the dioceses, and still further increased the number of the provinces. Though temporarily restored, the empire declined after him, till it fell; but many of the ideas and administrative methods of Diocletian and Constantine passed as a legacy to the mediæval and modern kingdoms and empires.

Economic decay. P. 262 ff.

While these two statesmen were making the government more effective, they were adding to the causes of social and economic decay. We have seen the beginnings of decline in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Long before him, in fact,

slavery had been destroying the free population; in his time the plague, and after him foreign and civil wars, continued to reduce the population, while the increasing burden of taxation made life every day more wretched. The wealth of the empire flowed to the East in exchange for useless luxuries; and in lack of gold and silver the coinage was debased. Then, too, the growing splendor of the imperial courts added to the burden. With their scant means, many found it impossible to support families; and even the slaves grew fewer. Under these circumstances most of the lower population, free and slave, became hereditary serfs, — the coloni already mentioned, — bound to the soil and to the payment of fixed dues to their lords.

P. 262.

Roman society becomes a caste system.

But it was not only the poor who suffered. The municipia had once enjoyed freedom in local affairs, each governed by a senate, whose members, termed *decuriones*, were the wealthier men of the community. Gradually the emperors had encroached upon the liberty of these cities, till they had converted even the privileges of the senators into intolerable burdens. For as these officials were responsible for the taxes due from their districts, many of them, unable to wring the required amount from the poorer classes, were themselves reduced to poverty. Nevertheless they could not leave their city without permission, or in any way shirk their duty, but were held for life by an iron hand to the unenviable work of collecting and of paying oppressive taxes. Artisans and traders, too, were bound strictly to their hereditary vocations, in order that the government might be sure of the dues to which they were subject. In brief, society had been forced into a rigid caste system, which crushed freedom, and made the life of rich and poor, bond and free, almost equally wretched.

P. 249.

Under these conditions the people, especially of the interior provinces, had grown unwarlike, incapable of defending themselves against the barbarians. For centuries they had been unused to arms; and now those whose spirits were still unbroken by toil suffered from the demoralizing influence of their theatres and gladiatorial shows.

The Germans and Christianity transform the empire.

Pp. 235, 346 f.

THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF CONSTANTINE

The government therefore found it more and more necessary to make up the armies of Germans, who consequently settled in the empire in ever increasing numbers. These people readily adopted those features of Roman life and civilization which were suited to their nature, but they were too independent to submit to the iron government or to the equally rigid social system of Rome. Accordingly while the Germans who defended the Roman world were

P. 262.

P. 295.

acquiring much of its civilization, they, with the Christians, were helping undermine the empire itself. And the wisest men could not know how soon even these German defences would fall before the barbarian tempest which was to sweep across the border.

Reading

Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History,* bk. VI. ch. ii ; bk. VII. ch. i ; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* chs. iv–xviii ; **Duruy,** *History of Rome* (VI–VIII), chs. lxxviii–civ ; Freeman, *Historical Essays,* iii : Illyrian Emperors ; Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire* (consult Index) ; Mason, *Persecution of Diocletian ;* Wood, *Ruins of Palmyra and Baalbec ;* Ware, *Zenobia ; Aurelian* (novels).

Church History

Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History,* v–x ; Allard, *Le Christianisme et l'Empire Romain de Néron à Théodose ; Les dernières Persécutions du troisième Siècle ;* Stanley, *History of the Eastern Church,* lects. ii–vi ; Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity ;* Fisher, *Beginnings of Christianity ; History of the Christian Church ;* Fulton (editor), *Ten Epochs in Church History ;* Gefficken, *Church and State ;* Hatch, *Organization of the Early Christian Churches ;* Kurtz, *Church History,* 3 vols. ; Milman, *History of Christianity,* 3 vols. ; *Latin Christianity,* 8 vols. ; Moeller, *History of the Christian Church,* 2 vols. ; Morrison, *The Jews under Roman Rule* (Nations) ; Neander, *History of the Christian Religion and Church,* 5 vols. ; Renan, *Influence of the Institutions, Thought, and Culture of Rome on Christianity and the Development of the Catholic Church ;* Robertson, *History of the Christian Church,* 8 vols. ; Uhlhorn, *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism ;* Boissier, *La Fin du Paganisme ;* Alzog, *Manual of Universal Church History.*

THE ROMAN FORUM

(In the immediate foreground is the Temple of Vespasian; beyond the road on the left is the Arch of Septimius Severus; on the right the Temple of Saturn, beyond which is the Basilica Julia, and still farther the three columns of the Temple of Castor and Pollux; above the latter are trees growing on the Palatine Mount. Near the Temple of Castor and Pollux is the foundation of the Temple of Vesta, and farther, on the top of the ridge, we can see the Arch of Titus.)

CHAPTER XIII

THE INVASIONS OF THE BARBARIANS AND THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST

(337–476 A.D.)

"A foreign foe, alas! shall tread the City's ashes down,
And his horse's ringing hoofs shall smite her places of renown,
And the bones of great Quirinus, now religiously enshrined,
Shall be flung by sacrilegious hands to the sunshine and the wind."

HORACE, *Epodes*, 16.

Constantine II, Constantius, and Constans, 337 A.D.

CONSTANTINE was followed by his three sons, who inherited the bad traits of their father without his ability. First they treacherously massacred nearly all their kinsmen to

rid themselves of possible rivals. Afterward Constans, the youngest, was killed by his brother Constantine, who in turn was slain by a usurper; so that of the three brothers Constantius alone survived. "He suffered many grievous calamities at the hands of the Persians; his towns were taken, his walled cities besieged, and his troops cut off." At the same time the Franks and the Alemanni from Germany were storming cities and spreading devastation through Gaul. The emperor's cousin Julian, leaving his philosophic studies in Athens, took command in this wretched province, and routed the Alemanni in a great battle at Strassburg. He drove the barbarians from Gaul and strengthened the frontier defences. The philosopher, who thus proved his ability to rule, became sole emperor on the death of his cousin. Disgusted with the character of his Christian kinsmen, he became a pagan, and labored to suppress Christianity. Wisely, however, he refrained from persecution; but his mild efforts to restore the gods of the old world naturally failed. He was still a young man when, after a brilliant campaign against the Persians, he was killed by an arrow of the enemy. In him the empire lost an able ruler and defender.

Eutropius x. 10. P. 274.

Julian "the Apostate."

357 A.D. Ammianus xvi. 12.

361 A.D.

Gardner, *Julian*.

Soon after his death the barbarians began to break through the frontier and to settle permanently within the empire. Before taking up the story of these invasions, however, we shall notice briefly the more important rulers of the century between Julian and the dissolution of the empire in the West.

363–476 A.D.

Valentinian, 364–375 A.D.

In the year after Julian's death, the army made Valentinian emperor. Ferocious in temper, yet strong and just, he was well adapted to command the imperial troops, most of whom were now barbarians. Through the eleven years of his reign he maintained the hard-pressed frontiers of

Pp. 262, 287.

Britain and Gaul, and even crossed the Rhine to chastise the Alemanni in their own country. His weak brother Valens, however, to whom he had given the East, allowed a great host of Goths to cross the Danube and to settle within the empire. They even defeated and killed him. The Eastern and Western branches of the empire continued under separate governments till Theodosius the Great united them for a brief season. This ruler distinguished himself, too, by making Christianity the sole religion of the State. When he ordered the pagan temples closed, those who carried out his edict destroyed many of the buildings and broke the images. Though the pagans were forbidden to worship their gods, some quietly persisted in their illegal devotion for at least a century longer. Theodosius was equally zealous for uniformity of Christian faith. By persecuting the Arians and other heretical sects he hoped to establish the Nicene Creed throughout the East. Under him orthodox Christianity thus became intolerant of all other faiths. It was chiefly this theological zeal which earned for him the title of "the Great."

Valens, 364–378 A.D.

P. 297 f.

Theodosius, 379–395; sole emperor 394–395 A.D.

P. 298.

P. 283.

At his death the empire was again divided; Arcadius, one of his sons, received as his portion the East,[1] and Honorius, the other, was given the West. Though the

The empire divided, 395 A.D. Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, i. p. 61 ff.

[1] In the reign of Arcadius, John, whose eloquence won for him the surname Chrysostom — golden-mouthed — became patriarch of Constantinople. He had forsaken the profession of law for a life of solitary devotion. After some years, however, he left his mountain cave to preach in Antioch. When the fame of his wonderful oratory reached the Christians of Constantinople, they forced him to come to their city. Installed as patriarch, he applied himself with great energy to the government of the Church. He compelled most of the religious officials of the Eastern empire to bow to his will; he persecuted heretics; and he denounced the sins of Christians, without sparing the nobles or even the empress Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius. In revenge she plotted his ruin. By the decree of a Church council she drove

P. 284.

Eastern branch maintained itself thereafter for more than a thousand years, the Western gradually fell into the hands of the barbarians. At the same time the government of the West came more and more under their influence. It was significant of this changing condition that Galla Placidia, the beautiful, accomplished sister of Honorius, became the wife of Ataulf, a Gothic chief who had been ravaging Italy and who brought his bride rich gifts from the spoils of her people. Placidia afterward returned to Rome, where as regent for her young son Valentinian III she ruled the Western branch of the empire many years. Meantime barbarians were seizing provinces and Rome was growing weaker. Not long after the death of Valentinian III, Ricimer, an able, scheming German, gained control of the government; and while he kept the power in his own hands, he made and unmade emperors at pleasure. He called himself simply patrician, — a word Constantine the Great had been first to use as a lifelong title of high official rank. In Ricimer's case it meant a man who was at once commander of the army and chief minister of his sovereign. Three years after the death of the tyrant Ricimer, Orestes, an Illyrian, became patrician of Italy. Refusing the imperial title for himself, he permitted the soldiers to confer it on his young son Romulus, whom they now called Augustulus — "little emperor." The boy ruled but a few months, however, when Odoacer, elected "king" by the Germans of the army, deposed

P. 302.

Valentinian III, 423–455 A.D.

Ricimer governs, 456–472 A.D.

Orestes governs, 475–476 A.D.

Romulus (nicknamed Augustulus) 475–476 A.D.

P. 309.

him into exile; and when he returned to continue his denunciation of her vices, she again caused his banishment, this time to a desolate place on Mount Taurus. Some years after his death, which occurred in exile, the authorities of the Church, to atone for their mistreatment of the great preacher, brought his bones to Constantinople and canonized him as a saint. His sermons, still preserved, show a brilliant flow of language and a fervid zeal for religion and pure morals.

him, and compelled the Senate to send the purple, with other imperial ornaments, to Constantinople, in token of the reunion of the empire under one head. As governor of Italy subject in name to the sole remaining emperor, Odoacer contented himself with the title of patrician.

End of the empire in the West, 476 A.D. Oman, *European History*, ch. i.

The date of the deposition of Romulus — 476 A.D. — better perhaps than any other marks the "fall" of the empire in the West and the transition from ancient to mediæval history. For although the idea of the empire and of the sovereignty of the ruler in Constantinople survived, as a matter of fact the Germans henceforth controlled all the West, and were working out in their own way the destiny of Europe. In turning from the Romans to the Germans, we pass from ancient to mediæval history.

The Aryans. P. 1.

The Germans, with the Greeks, the Italians, the Celts, and the Slavs, belong to the European branch or group of races of Aryan speech. From the early Aryan home, probably north of the Black and Caspian seas, those who were to give the mother-tongue to Greece and Italy had migrated to the peninsulas in which we find them at the dawn of history. There they settled, built cities, and became civilized. The other races just named continued to wander about more or less, and long remained barbarian. They were naturally as capable as the Italians, or possibly even as the Greeks; but in their home in central Europe they had fewer means of learning the customs and the arts of settled life. The Celts moved westward and occupied chiefly Gaul, Britain, and a part of Spain, where in time, as we have seen, they were conquered and civilized by the Romans. After the Celts came the Germans, who were to give the Romans much trouble. The *Germania* of Tacitus, composed about 100 A.D., describes

Pp. 126, 177, 186, 259.

The Germans. Tacitus, *Germania.*

P. 256.

their life at that early time, before they came under the influence of Christianity and of Rome.

The country and the people. Tacitus, *Germania*, 15 f.

Travelling through their country in the age of Tacitus, one would find no vineyards or orchards, no cities or pleasant country houses, but here and there in the midst of swamps and forests one would see groups of miserable hovels, some herds of stunted cattle, and a few patches of cultivated ground. In peace the warriors sleep and eat, drink and game, while the women, old men, and slaves do

A German Village

Cæsar, *Gallic Wars*, vi. 21; Tacitus, *Germania*, 17.

all the work. The children are naked; the men and women alike cover the body with a skin or coarse cloth, leaving the limbs bare; only in the richer class men wear trousers and women linen.

Morals and religion. Tacitus, *Germania*, 18.

Other features of their life are far more attractive. They possess many of the virtues which the Romans have lost. The morals of marriage and of the family are pure; they respect women more than the Greeks or the Romans ever

did; and their sense of personal dignity will not permit them, like the Spartans and the early Romans, to yield their liberty to the iron discipline of the state — to make themselves an unthinking part of a social machine. It is the purity of the German family and the free, dignified spirit of the German man, afterward directed by Christian principles, which have made the modern world better than the ancient. As yet they have not learned of Christ, but worship the powers of nature, — of war, peace, and joy, of the waters, woods, and seasons, of various living things and natural forces. Each in his own house calls upon the gods, and priests attend to the public worship in sacred groves; for they have neither images nor temples.

Government. Tacitus, *Germania*, 7, 11–13.

Some tribes follow hereditary kings, others temporary dukes elected to lead in war and on migrations. The chief men of a tribe meet in a council to settle questions of public interest. Important matters they refer to the gathering of all the warriors, who show their displeasure by a guttural murmur or clash their weapons in token of approval. This assembly elects chiefs, tries capital offences, and decides other important matters. It sometimes happens that after voting for war, the host proceeds forthwith to meet the enemy. The men of a family and the families of a clan stand side by side in the line of battle, while each chieftain rides in the midst of his mounted companions, who are pledged to loyal service. The troops are not only ill organized but poorly armed. Although in the first terrific onset their huge frames may frighten the Romans, these fair, blue-eyed giants lack endurance and discipline; so that they readily yield to fear, hunger, or fatigue. Their life and institutions are like those of the Greeks in the time of Homer, or of the Italians before the Samnite wars. As soon, however, as

Army. Tacitus, *Germania*, 14; *Annals*, ii. 14.

P. 2 ff; Botsford, *Greece*, p. 11 ff.

they come into contact with the Romans, they begin to learn from them more refined habits and to desire more settled homes. This eagerness for homes is perhaps their chief motive in attacking the empire.

They threaten the empire. Pp. 162, 185.

We have seen how Gaius Marius destroyed the first great horde of Germans that tried to enter Italy, and how Julius Cæsar frustrated a second attempt at invasion led by Ariovistus. Under Augustus the Romans made a vain effort to subdue them; but soon learned from the overthrow of Varus that the question of the future was to be how they should defend themselves against these terrible enemies. After Augustus the Germans grew more and more powerful, chiefly by uniting their tribes in large federations. Such a union was that of the Franks, who, after Marcus Aurelius, appeared on the lower Rhine, and the Alemanni — "Men of All Races" — on the upper. Farther east were the Goths, who are said to have once lived in Sweden. From the Baltic to the Black Sea they had journeyed, — great swarms of gigantic warriors, with their women and

P. 207 f.

THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST

On the right is John the Baptist, on the left the River-god Jordan, around are the Twelve Apostles.

(Mosaic in the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Ravenna, Fifth Century, A.D.)

Sergeant, *The Franks.*

P. 274.

children, and their two-wheeled wagons. Thereafter they kept harassing the eastern provinces by land and sea, till Aurelian gave up Dacia to them. Those who now settled in this province, who are termed West-Goths, or Visigoths, acquired much of the Roman civilization, and accepted Arian Christianity from Bishop Ulfilas, who translated the Bible into their speech. Fragments of this work still exist, and are highly prized as specimens of the first piece of Germanic literature. 270–275 A.D. P. 274.

The Visigoths in Dacia. 270–376 A.D.

For about a century the West-Goths lived quietly in Dacia as the allies of the Roman people. With the progress of settled life they became more and more distinct from their less civilized kinsmen, the East-Goths — Ostrogoths — who lived north of the Black Sea, between Dacia and the Don River. Suddenly this peaceful life was disturbed by the appearance of the Huns, a dark, dwarfish race of savages, with little eyes and scarred, beardless faces. On horseback they swept the country like a tempest, plundering and destroying whatever they found and killing even the women and the children without pity. Those of their enemies whom they chose to spare became their slaves or subjects. They were not Aryans, but a distinctly Asiatic race, usually classed with the Turanians. Unlike the Germans, they had no wish to settle in the conquered lands, but were content with roving and remained savage. They conquered the East-Goths, and overthrew the West-Gothic king, who lived in Dacia. Thereupon two hundred thousand warriors of the defeated monarch, with their wives and children, gathered on the north bank of the Danube, and implored the Romans to let them cross for safety from their frightful pursuers. The weak-minded Valens, of whom we have already heard, granted their petition on the understanding that they should surrender

Hodgkin, *Italy*, I. i. p. 242.

P. 291.

their arms and give their children as hostages. These were needless, foolish conditions; for with their arms, they would, in grateful loyalty, have helped him defend the empire.

They cross the Danube, 376 A.D. Hodgkin, *Italy*, I. i. p. 254.

"All day and night, for many days and nights, the Roman ships of war were crossing and recrossing the stream, conveying to the Mœsian shore a multitude which they tried in vain to number." But while the Roman officers in charge of this work were intent upon robbing the Goths and kidnapping the most beautiful of their women, the warriors retained their arms, and passed into the empire, burning with rage at the insults and the wrongs they suffered from the depraved government of Constantinople. When famine and further mistreatment goaded them to rebellion, they spread murder and savage desolation over Thrace and Macedonia. Valens rashly assailed them at Hadrianople, and perished with two-thirds of his men. This was a grave misfortune, for it taught the invading barbarians that they might defeat Romans and slay emperors in open fight. For some time after the battle the Goths roamed about at pleasure, but could not take the fortified cities. From Theodosius, the successor of Valens, they received homes in Thrace, while those Ostrogoths who had followed them into the empire were settled in Phrygia. The barbarians became the allies of the Romans, and Theodosius remained their firm friend.

378 A.D.

Theodosius, 379–395 A.D. Duruy, *Rome*, viii. p. 273 ff.

Alaric, 395 A.D. Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, p. 107 ff.

Soon after his death, the Visigoths, needing more land and wealth, hoisted one of the most promising of their young nobles, named Alaric, upon a shield, as was their custom in electing a chieftain, and under his leadership, they ravaged Greece till the minister of Arcadius, now emperor of the East, bought the friendship of Alaric by making him governor of Illyricum. This gave the barba-

rian chief official means of supplying his men with good arms; so that in a few years he was ready for a more important undertaking, — the invasion of Italy. He had some idea of the value of civilization; and apparently it was his wish to find the best country in which to settle his followers and organize a kingdom. We are to think of him, accordingly, not as a mere destroyer, but as the founder of the first Germanic state which was to be established within the limits of the empire.

Stilicho and Alaric.

It is a remarkable fact that not only the common soldiers but even the best generals and ministers of the empire were now Germans. Such was Stilicho, a fair and stately Vandal, who had married a niece of Theodosius, and was at this time guardian and chief general of the worthless Honorius, emperor in the West. Stilicho and Alaric were well matched. Both were born leaders of men; both were brave and energetic, with equal genius for war. But Stilicho had the advantage of Roman organization. Hastily gathering troops from Britain, from Gaul, from various parts in the West, he defeated Alaric twice in northern Italy, and compelled him to return to Illyricum. This double victory would have honored the name of Marius; and perhaps the victor deemed himself and his son more worthy of the throne than the puppet king who fed his chickens in Ravenna, his new capital. At all events, Stilicho had a jealous enemy who never ceased whispering in the ears of Honorius his tale, true or false, of the Vandal's plotting. The miserable emperor at length gave way, and ordered the death of the only man who was able to save the empire. The Roman legionaries followed the example of their master by murdering the wives and the children of the Germans in the army. The enraged barbarians, thirty thousand strong, went off to

P. 291.

Battles of Pollentia and Verona, 402, 403 A.D.

408 A.D.

the camp of Alaric, and besought him to take vengeance by invading Italy.

Siege and sack of Rome.

As the Gothic king knew well that Stilicho's death left the empire defenceless, he crossed the Alps and marched straight for Rome. For the first time since the days of

408 A.D.

Camillus the eternal city was besieged by barbarians.

Gibbon, ch. xxxi.

Afflicted with famine and pestilence, the degenerate citizens bought Alaric off by the payment of an enormous ransom. In the following year he appeared again before the walls, this time demanding whole provinces for the settlement of his men. He did not himself aspire to the imperial purple, — that dress was still too majestic for him to wear; but he appointed an emperor of his own to displace the weakling at Ravenna. For himself, he wished merely to be an ally and a supporter of the throne. But his nominee proved to be an imbecile, who could do nothing

410 A.D.

for him. Accordingly his fierce Goths besieged Rome a third time, burst in by surprise, and sacked the city, which for eight hundred years had seen no enemy in her streets. They killed many citizens and plundered the dwellings; but as Christians they spared the churches and all who took refuge in them.

Effect of this event.

The sack of Rome astonished mankind; for all had supposed the city inviolable, and in her fall they thought they saw the ruin of the law and order of the world. It discouraged the Christians throughout the empire, that so many holy shrines, so godly a city, should be profaned by those whom they misconceived as pagans. To console them, St. Augustine[1] wrote his *City of God*, to prove that

[1] St. Augustine, the most famous of the Christian Fathers, was born in Africa in 354 A.D. After many years of wayward life he joined the heretical sect of Manichæans, and somewhat later accepted the orthodox Christian faith. Appointed bishop of Hippo, a city near Carthage,

the community of the Most High would last forever, even though the greatest city of earth had fallen.

As the Goths did not like to live in cities, they soon left Rome, and wandered southward with their booty. They intended to cross to Africa; but while they were making ready for this, Alaric died — apparently from the fever- **Death of Alaric.**

THE GOOD SHEPHERD

(Mosaic in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna, Fifth Century A.D.)

laden climate of southern Italy. To prepare a safe resting-place for the deceased king, his followers compelled some Italian captives to turn the Busento from its course and to dig a grave in the empty river-bed; then when the burial

he devoted the rest of his life to speaking and writing in defence of orthodox Christianity against both heresy and paganism. By means of his voluminous works on theology he did much toward reducing the teachings of Christians to a consistent philosophic system. He died in Hippo in the seventy-sixth year of his age, while the Vandals were besieging that city; cf. p. 257.

rites were over, and the river again flowed in its natural channel, they killed the prisoners who had done the work, that no native might discover their secret, so as to disturb the remains of their mighty chieftain. Thus Alaric, the founder of the first Gothic state, died, like Moses, before he could bring his people to their destined home.

Founding of the Visigothic kingdom. Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, i. p. 137 ff.

His brother-in-law, Ataulf, succeeded him. This man had once wished to blot the Romans out of existence, and to substitute the Goths in their place; but as he saw his followers slow in adapting themselves to settled life, he recognized the value of Rome for order and civilization. Accordingly he became her champion; and taking with him the emperor's sister, whom he hoped to make his bride, he led his nation from Italy to Gaul and Spain. These countries had already been plundered by Vandals, Sueves, — whose name survives in the modern Swabia, — and Alans, whom the Goths had to subdue in order to found their new state. Here their wanderings ended. The country they occupied extended from the Loire in Gaul over most of Spain, with Toulouse for its capital. Their state lasted unimpaired till the Franks seized the Gallic part of it, about 500 A.D. In Spain they continued independent for two centuries longer, when the Saracens swept over them and destroyed their kingdom.

The Visigoths are especially interesting as the "pioneers of the German invasion;" and for that reason we have dwelt at some length on their wanderings and on their relations with Rome. The movements of the other barbarian races we shall follow more rapidly.

The Vandals. Hodgkin, *Italy*, ii. p. 209 ff. 167–181 A.D.

We first hear of the Vandals in the region of the Oder. Thence they moved southward, and with the Marcomanni, fought against Marcus Aurelius. When later they were worsted in battle by the Goths, and besought Constantine

the Great for a home and protection, he settled them in Pannonia. Here under the influence of Rome and of Christianity in its Arian form, they, like the Goths in Dacia, made some progress in orderly life. But in the time of Stilicho and Alaric they abandoned their settlements and wandered northwestward toward the Rhine, joining to themselves on the way the Germanic Sueves and the Alans, who are usually classed with the Turanians. As Stilicho had withdrawn the garrisons from the Rhine, to use against Alaric, they crossed to Gaul and ravaged their way into Spain. Here, as we have seen, the Visigoths under Ataulf found them. The Sueves were gradually pressed by the newcomers into the northwestern corner of the peninsula, where they established a small kingdom. The other two races retired southward.

About 335 A.D.

406 A.D.

P. 299.

Thus far the Vandals had been driven about from place to place, — their history had been an unbroken record of defeats. Now, however, they found their hero-king in Gaiseric, under whom they, too, were to appear as a conquering nation. Gaiseric is an interesting figure. In contrast with the majestic type of the Germanic leader, he was short and limping. But he had a cunning, nimble mind, which always hit upon the right expedient. Bold, grasping, and persistent, he never lost sight of his ends or of the intricate means which led to them. In addition to his desire to find lands for his men and a kingdom for himself, he sought to humble Rome, and as an Arian Christian, to destroy the orthodox church.

Gaiseric (Genseric), 428 A.D. Hodgkin, *Italy*, ii. p. 228 f.

The Vandal chief found his opportunity in a quarrel between two Roman officers, Aëtius and Boniface. At this time Galla Placidia was regent of the West. However wise in intrusting her legions to the able generals just mentioned, she foolishly allowed Aëtius to work upon

He invades Africa, 428 A.D.

Cf. p. 280.

her feelings against his rival, Count Boniface, then commander in Africa. Ordered to Rome on a groundless suspicion of treason, the count turned for revenge to the Vandals, and invited them to invade his provinces. The barbarians accepted the offer; accordingly, as soon as Gaiseric became chief, he crossed to Africa with the rem-

THE MAUSOLEUM OF GALLA PLACIDIA, RAVENNA

(Originally the Church of S. Nazario e Celso, built by Placidia about 440; it contains her sarcophagus and that of Honorius.)

nant of his nation, numbering perhaps eighty thousand persons, including women and children. In vain the penitent Boniface tried to send him back; Gaiseric was not the man to be swayed by Roman counts. To him Africa was a tempting prize. Its large, fertile estates worked by serfs had long supplied Rome with grain. The richest of its many cities was "happy Carthage," prosper-

ous now as before the Punic Wars. The Vandals desolated the fields and took the fortified places by siege or treachery. Meantime a treaty with Rome recognized their kingdom in Africa, subject only to an annual tribute. How weak must have been the Roman army when so few invading barbarians could seize the fairest provinces of the empire! 435 A.D.

But Gaiseric's followers were not so peaceful as those of Alaric. No sooner had they gained the seaports than they built ships and took to piracy. Thus they harassed Italy and all the neighboring shores. "Whither shall we sail?" the pilot is said to have asked his chief at the beginning of one of these expeditions. "To the dwellings of those with whom God is angry," Gaiseric replied. From their piracy, but more perhaps from their pillage of the orthodox churches, wherever they found them, the word Vandalism, derived from the name of their race, has come to signify the aimless, wanton destruction of property. **Vandalism.**

Deprived of her food supply by these pirates, Rome suffered from famine, and was soon to see the destroyers in her own streets. The emperor at this time was a certain Maximus, who had usurped the throne and had forced Eudoxia, the widow of his predecessor,[1] to become his wife. She then requested Gaiseric to avenge her wrong by plundering Rome. The Vandals gladly accepted the invitation. For a fortnight they pillaged the city in a thoroughly business-like way, and stored in their vessels all the movable property they considered of sufficient value. Their leader, however, had promised the great Leo, then bishop of Rome, to refrain from bloodshed and from burning the houses; and he kept his word. Besides their shiploads of booty, the Vandals carried away many captives into servitude. The Roman and the barbarian **The Vandals sack Rome, 455 A.D.**

Gibbon, ch. xxxvi.

[1] Valentinian III.

had exchanged rôles: the conquerors were becoming the slaves, and barbarians from the city of Hannibal at last avenged the destruction of Carthage.

The end of their kingdom. 477 A.D. P. 315. 534 A.D.

For many years Gaiseric ruled successfully, and extended his lordship over the neighboring islands. Though at his death the glory of his kingdom passed away, it maintained its independence for more than a half century longer, when it was annexed by the Eastern branch of the empire.

The Burgundians. Emerton, *Middle Ages*, p. 39 f. Cf. Hodgkin, *Italy*, ii. p. 363.

Meantime the Burgundians, another Germanic race from the country about the Baltic, made their way into Gaul, where they founded a kingdom in the valley of the Rhone and Saone rivers. Sidonius, a writer of the fifth century A.D., speaks of the "gormandizing sons of Burgundy who smear their yellow hair with rancid butter." Like other Germans, these greasy giants had a taste for poetry; from an earlier Norse myth, their bards elaborated the *Nibelungenlied*, an epic song of their national heroes. Their laws, too, are of interest for the light they throw on the relations between the barbarian invaders and the Romans. Though their kingdom soon fell under the Franks, the name has survived in the modern Burgundy.

Aëtius and Theodoric.

The Franks had crossed the Rhine and had occupied a wide territory on the left bank of the river, extending from Mainz to the sea. Thus by the middle of the fifth century A.D. the Germans had come to possess much of the Western empire, — Africa, Spain, and parts of Gaul. Nominally dependent on the emperor, their kingdoms were virtually free. Central Gaul was still held for Rome by an able governor, Aëtius. He and Theodoric, king of the West-Goths, were enemies, as each tried to extend his territory at the expense of the other. But we shall now see them bring the Germans and the Romans into one army to repel the great enemy of civilization, — Attila the Hun.

P. 308.

The Huns.

Since their victory over the Goths, the Huns had grown formidable. It is said that Attila, their king, from his log-cabin capital in Hungary commanded the barbarians of Europe and of Asia, and threatened Persia as well as the Roman Empire. "We see him short of stature, with the small, bead-like eyes, and snub nose and swarthy skin of his Tartar ancestors, yet with a haughty step, and a fierce way of darting his glances hither and thither, as though he felt himself lord of all, and were perpetually asking of the bystanders, 'Who is he that shall deliver you out of my hand?'"

Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, i. p. 161 ff. Hodgkin, *Italy*, ii. p. 41.

The battle of Châlons, 451 A.D.

He attracted to himself men of many races, Germans, Slavs, and even Greeks, as well as his Turanian kinsmen. After desolating the provinces of the East and terrorizing Constantinople, he brought the storm of his wrath upon Gaul. Wasted fields and ruined cities marked his path. At this trying time, the union of Germans and Romans in defence of their common country was a happy omen for the future of Europe. Theodoric and Aëtius met Attila at some distance from Châlons, in one of the fiercest conflicts known to history. The slaughter was vast. We are even told that the blood from the thousands of wounds swelled to a torrent the brook which flowed through the field of battle. Theodoric fell, but the Hun was routed. Had he gained the day, it might have taken years, possibly centuries, to redeem Europe from the desolation and the barbarism which he, as victor, would have spread over the continent. Such was the importance of this battle.[1]

Attila in Italy, 452 A.D.

Though Attila withdrew from Gaul, the next year he appeared in Italy on his errand of destruction. He visited

[1] Three years afterward Valentinian III, jealous of the fame of Aëtius, invited the great commander into the imperial palace, and killed him there with his own hand; Hodgkin, *Italy*, ii. p. 195 ff.

Gibbon, ch. xxxv.

Aquileia with fire and sword. The miserable remnant of the population, joined by refugees from other ruined towns, fled to a cluster of islands along the Adriatic shore. In time their wretched settlement became the famous city of Venice, which was to help defend Europe against Attila's kinsmen, the Turks. As the Huns threatened Rome, Bishop Leo came to their chief, and persuaded him to spare the city.[1] Such at least is the story; and it is difficult to see what else induced the savage to turn back without entering Rome. Attila died soon after his departure, and with his death the Hunnish empire broke into pieces.

Why the empire in the West "fell."

Gibbon, ch. xxxvi; Hodgkin, *Italy*, ii. p. 532 ff; Seeley, *Roman Imperialism*, Lect. ii.

We are now in a position to understand why the Western branch of the empire "fell." Before the year 476 A.D., the conventional date of this event, most of the provinces had come into the hands of the barbarians, so that little more than Italy was left under the direct rule of the emperor. The native Italians no longer had the courage or the material resources necessary for defending their country. Further, most of the emperors of the fifth century A.D. were weaklings, like Honorius, little more than puppets of their German commander-in-chief, who made and deposed them at pleasure. Thence it came about that

P. 292.

the title "patrician," which the chief general bore, carried more weight with the foreign soldiers in the service than even that of emperor. Under these circumstances the central government continued as long as it did, only because

P. 306.

the Germanic kings within the empire needed it as a support to their authority. Even thus, however, it could not survive. Although no barbarian people had yet, as a body, made their permanent home in Italy, a continual stream of foreigners poured in to recruit the army. Among these

[1] This was three years before Gaiseric's plunder of Rome, — which the same Leo tried to prevent, but could only soften.

THE HALL OF THE EMPERORS
(National Museum, Naples)

soldiers of fortune was Odoacer, of whom we have already heard. He was a bold, clever man, whom the foreign troops respected. They clamored for a third of the land in Italy; and when the father of the young emperor Romulus refused their demand, they hoisted Odoacer on their shield, thus making him their king. P. 292.

How he then brought the line of Western emperors to a formal close has been explained. In fact their power had already declined so completely that no one living at the time saw in the event of 476 A.D. anything worthy of notice. No one supposed that any part of the empire had fallen. Indeed, the continuance of the emperors in the East satisfied in some degree a want which Rome had left in the hearts of the barbarians as well as of her native citizens, — a longing for a central power which, in the midst of chaos, should stand for law and order throughout the world. Accordingly most men even in the West, whatever their race or condition, thought of the Eastern emperor as their own. It is evident, therefore, that the term "fall" is somewhat misleading. In theory, the event of the year was the reunion of the East and West under one head; at the same time it pointed to an accomplished fact, — the dissolution of the empire in the West.

476 A.D. Importance of the date.

The happenings of 476 A.D. had this important result, that as Italy ceased to be the home of emperors, the bishop of Rome became the most respected and most influential person in the West, — the pope succeeded to the throne of the deposed Augustus.

Reading

Tacitus, *Germania* (for the life and institutions of the Germans); Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chs. xviii–xxxviii; **Duruy**, *History of Rome*, VIII. chs. cv–cix; *History of the Middle*

Ages, bk. I. chs. i, ii ; Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, i, ii ; **Bury**, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, i. pp. 1–280 ; Curteis, *History of the Roman Empire*, chs. vi–ix ; **Emerton**, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chs. i–vi (the best brief history) ; Church, *Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, pp. 1–30 ; Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chs. i–iv ; Thatcher and Schwill, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, chs. i–iii ; Henderson, *History of Germany in the Middle Ages*, chs. i, ii ; Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, chs. ii, iii ; Freeman, *Chief Periods of European History*, lect. iii : Rome and the New Nations ; **Dill**, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (especially bk. III, but valuable throughout) ; Montesquieu, *Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans*, ch. xix ; Seeley, *Roman Imperialism*, lect. ii; Fowler, *City-State*, ch. xi ; Finlay, *History of Greece*, I. ch. ii ; Bradley, *Goths* (nations) ; Gardner, *Julian* (heroes) ; Cutts, *St. Augustine :* Newman, *Arians of the Fourth Century ;* Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome.*

IRELAND
(Scotia)
Dublin
Waterford
North-umbria
York
Bangor
Lincoln
Mercia
ENGLAND
(Anglo Saxons)
Warwick
Anglia
North Wales
Oxford
Essex
LONDON
Eddington
Wessex
Sussex
Kent
Canterbury
Hastings
Exeter
Wareham
Boulogne
St. Berlin
Arras
Saucourt
Amiens
Corbie
Testri
Rouen
Quierzy
Soissons
Reims
Chalons
PARIS
Chartres
Sens
Troyes
Le Mans
Orleans
Angers
Tours
Nantes
Poitiers
Bourges
Saintes
Limoges
Angouleme
Clermont
Perigueux
Bordeaux
Cahors
Agen
Albi
Toulouse
Carcassonne
Narbonne
Roussillon
Urgel
Gerona
Ampuria
Barcelona
Tortosa
Lerida
Huesca
Tudela
Saragossa
Pamplona
Roncesvalles
Dax
Bayonne
Auch
Nimes
Arles
Marseilles
Toulon
Fraxinet
Nice
Avignon
Orange
Viviers
Valence
Grenoble
Vienna
Lyons
Geneva
Aosta
Susa
Embrun
Chalons
Macon
Autun
Nevers
Dijon
Fontenoy
Auxerre
Langres
Luxeuil
Besancon
Toul
Metz
Trier
Prum
Aix-la-Chapelle
Cologne
Tongern
Xanten
Munster
Osnabr
Zabern
Strasburg
Murbach
Brest
BRITTANY
Vannes
Rennes
NEUSTRIA
Seine R.
Loire R.
AUSTR
NORTH SEA
TEXEL
HELGO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
AQUITANIA
GASCONY
ASTURIA
NAVARRE
SPANISH MARK
SEPTIMANIA
CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA
MEDITERRANE
5
0
5
50
45
West
Longitude East fro

CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100 200
BALTIC SEA
Mecklenburg
Hamburg
Verden
Magdeburg
Hildesheim
Dorstadt
Halberstadt
Halle
Thuringia
Erfurt
Salz
Prague
BOHEMIA
Hallstadt
Forchheim
Olmutz
Brunn
MORAVIA
Regensburg
Alteich
Eichstatt
Danube R.
Neutra
Freising
Passau
Traismauer
Ulm
Augsburg
Lorch
Petrouell
BAVARIA
Kempten
Salzburg
Bregenz
EMPIRE OF THE AVARS
Danube R.
Theiss R.
BULGARIA
CORINTHIA
Mosaburg
Pettau
Brixen
Cilli
Funfkirchen
Bozen
Drave R.
Temesvar
Cividale
Trient
Belluno
Laibach
Aquileia
Sisek
Verona
Belgrade
Venice
Mantua
Po R.
Polo
Nissa
Bologna
Ravenna
Nona
Zara
SERVIA
Sophia
Lucca
Pisa
Florence
Tuscany
Ancona
Sienna
Perugia
Chiusi
Dy. of Spoleto
Spoleto
Ragusa
Cattaro
ELBA
Narni
Sutri
Chieti
Ortona
Socrate
Farfa
ROME
Arpino
DUCHY OF BENEVENTO
Siponto
Ostia
Church
Capua
Bari
ADRIATIC SEA
EASTERN GREEK OR BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Bormay & Co., N.Y.

PALACE OF THEODORIC
(Ravenna.)

CHAPTER XIV

THE NEW GERMAN STATES AND THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE

(476–800 A.D.)

The condition of Europe in 476 A.D.

AT the time when the sceptre fell from the hands of the boy-emperor, Romulus "Augustulus," the entire West was still in chaos. In Gaul and Spain the Burgundians, and more especially the Visigoths, were making some progress toward settled life and orderly government. The Vandals of Africa, remaining barbarous, persecuted and oppressed their Roman subjects, while in northern Gaul the Franks were still pagan, little touched by the civilization of Rome. The Angles and the Saxons, who were already invading

Pp. 302, 306. Oman, *European History*, ch. i. P. 305 f. Pp. 290, 306, 321.

P. 321. Britain, and of whom we have yet to hear, were not only pagans, but wholly ignorant of Roman ways of life. Italy, Pp. 293, 309. as we have seen, continued Roman till Odoacer gave a third of her land to his German soldiers.[1] Under these circumstances, it is easy to understand why all the West was in confusion and conflict, — each invading race against the other, German against Roman, pagan against Christian, and Arian against Catholic. In this chapter we shall see how chaos gradually gave way to order, and how the various conflicting forces finally harmonized in one civilization, one religion, and one empire.

The Ostrogoths. P. 297. The first of the great forces which helped bring about this change was the East-Gothic nation. When Attila died, it threw off the Hunnish yoke, and settled in 454 A.D. Hodgkin, *Italy*, iii. Mœsia as an ally of the emperor at Constantinople. One reason why the empire lasted longer in the East than in the West is to be found in the cleverness of the Eastern sovereigns in dealing with the barbarians, — in purchasing their friendship or in playing off one tribe, or one chief, against another. But with the Ostrogoths they had much trouble, which ended in the migration of that race to Italy.

Theodoric the Great, 476–526. Gibbon, ch. xxxix. The leader of the movement was Theodoric, known as the Great, the ablest and most statesmanlike of all the German chieftains whom we have thus far met. He brought

[1] Extending along the ancient frontier on the north, just outside the empire, a series of barbarous races pressed upon the heels of their kinsmen who had crossed the border. On the shore of the North Sea between the Rhine and the Elbe were the Frisians, farther south the Thuringians and the Alemanni. Eastward along the Danube were the Rugians, Lombards, and Gepidæ in order, and beyond them the Slavs. "All these tribes, like their brethren who had gone before them, were showing a general tendency to press west and south, and take their share in the plunder of the dismembered empire." Oman, *European History*, p. 6.

CHURCH OF SAN APOLLINARE NUOVO, RAVENNA
(Built by Theodoric.)

his entire nation, women and children as well as warriors, over the Alps, and fought three battles with Odoacer. After conquering his opponent, he put him to death, and then proceeded to take another third of the land of Italy from the owners to give to his men. 489 A.D.

Here his violence ceased; the conqueror became the statesman. His just laws, borrowed from the Roman code, reconciled the native Italians to their new German neighbors. While he himself remained master of all, he employed his Goths for war, the educated Romans as advisers, and the Italian commons for the humbler works of peace. With remarkable tact he adapted himself to his new position as king of Italy. Though he could neither read nor write, he encouraged education; a barbarian, he yet appreciated the value of Roman law and civilization; an Arian, he tolerated the orthodox Catholics. Thus through the thirty-three years of his reign he pursued the liberal policy of harmonizing the discordant forces of his kingdom. Under him Italy was secure from invasion; and after centuries of ruinous dependence upon the provinces, the country recovered some of the prosperity it had known before the Punic Wars. The great cities could now repair their decayed public works and erect new ones. Among the king's buildings in Ravenna, his capital, was a beautiful church in the style of a basilica, which is still standing.

His government of Italy. Hodgkin, *Theodoric.*

His influence was felt outside of Italy: on the one hand, he continued subject in name to the emperor in Constantinople; on the other, he connected himself by marriages of his relatives with most of the German kings of the West. By such means he brought the warring races of the broken empire into some degree of friendly relation, which crudely foreshadowed the present state-system of Europe. Had his reign prospered to the end, he rather than Charle-

His foreign relations.

magne might have been the restorer of the empire in the West; and in that case the Goths would have been the ruling race. But this was not to be. In his later years there were intrigues to rid Italy of the Goths and to bring the country

under the emperor. This trouble led Theodoric to put to death on a charge of conspiracy the two most eminent men of his court, — Boëthius, the renowned philosopher, and Symmachus, also a noted scholar. Suspecting the pope of disloyalty, the king threw him into prison,

where he soon died. Theodoric himself did not long survive his victims. Thus a glorious reign ended in sadness; and no one after Theodoric was able to carry on his great work. 524–525 A.D.

In the reign of Theodoric, Justin became emperor. A rude Illyrian peasant, he had made his way to the imperial office by soldierly ability. Like the Gothic king of Italy, he was ignorant even of the alphabet; but he gave his nephew Justinian a thorough education, and finally crowned him emperor. **Justin,** 518–527 A.D.

Justinian, who thus came to the imperial throne the year after Theodoric's death, was ambitious "to restore the grandeur of the empire" by conquering the German kingdoms of the West. He had the rare faculty of choosing the most competent person for each special service. His wife, the Empress Theodora, once a dancing girl of low character, was nevertheless a brilliant woman who increased the splendor of the court while she tyrannized over nobles and magistrates. At the same time she was charitable to the poor; and once in a riot her firmness saved the throne for her husband, whose ambition doubtless owed much to her influence. So in Belisarius the emperor found a commander of remarkable genius, well qualified to lead in the work of conquest. This general subdued the Vandals of Africa in one short campaign; for after the death of Gaiseric they had declined, and their Roman subjects welcomed the army of the East as a deliverer from oppression. **Justinian,** 527–565 A.D. Oman, *Byzantine Empire*, chs. vi, vii. Cf. p. 346. 533–534 A.D.

Next year Belisarius attacked the Ostrogothic kingdom, which included Sicily as well as Italy. He met with little opposition till he had entered Rome. There the Goths besieged him for a year; meantime Witigis, their king, cut off the water supply, so that Rome lacked pure water **Conquest of Italy,** 535–540 A.D. Hodgkin, *Italy*, iv.

till some of the aqueducts were restored a thousand years afterward. When the siege was at length raised, Belisarius, on his part, found it difficult to take the strong cities of northern Italy. By negotiation, however, he finally secured possession of the king and of the entire country.[1] As the Roman rule was oppressive, the Goths immediately
540–553 A.D. revolted; but after a long, fierce struggle the remnant of their number bade farewell to Italy, and seem to have dispersed among various barbarian tribes. The peninsula came wholly under the emperor, and was governed for him by an officer termed exarch whose capital was Ravenna. Still later, Justinian gained a foothold in southeastern Spain but failed to conquer the entire West-Gothic kingdom.

Wars with Persia.

While the emperor was subduing Italy he was struggling to protect the empire from the Persians, who were as mighty as ever. More than once he had to purchase peace by the payment of tribute. It was well for Europe, however, that he was able to accomplish even that; and we should never lose sight of the fact that the German nations were free to work out the destiny of the continent only because the empire formed their bulwark against the powers of Asia. Such it continued to be for hundreds
1453 A.D. of years longer, till Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks.

[1] The legal and diplomatic adviser of Belisarius in these campaigns was a Greek named Procopius, who wrote an admirable history of the wars — *De Bellis* — of Justinian. Though this work shows due respect for the emperor and empress, it is evident that in his heart the author disapproved their character. In his later years, accordingly, he composed a secret history — *Anecdota* — of the scandals and immoralities of the imperial court, whose corruption his anger and disgust exaggerated. This last work did not come to light till after the author's death.

Like the earlier Roman emperors, Justinian was a great builder of roads, fortifications, aqueducts, and other public works. The most splendid of his many churches was the dome-covered cathedral of St. Sophia, now a mosque.

Public works. Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, i. p. 469 ff; ii. p. 40 ff.

CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE
(Built by Justinian.)

In his reign agriculture, commerce, and the skilled industries still flourished throughout the empire; but the produce went to support the oppressive Church, State, and army. Though he did nothing to encourage the laborer, it was under his patronage that two Christian missionaries brought eggs of the silk-worm from China to Constantinople, and taught the Europeans the culture of silk. Justinian, however, is most noted as the emperor who finally codified the Roman law.

Final codification of the law.

The legal system of Rome had been developing for more than a thousand years along two closely connected lines,

P. 76.

— first, statutes, and second, decisions. The earliest collection of statutes was made by the Decemvirs, an extraordinary legislative body. To these laws were added from time to time the acts of the assemblies during the republic, and the edicts of the prætors, which before Hadrian were binding only for the year of their issue. But these earlier statutes were gradually superseded by those of the emperors, who in time usurped all the legislative power. Thus there came to be a great, confused mass of imperial enactments, sorely in need of revision. The second branch of Roman law comprised the decisions[1] of jurists as to how the statutes should apply to particular cases which had arisen or which might arise. These decisions, filling many volumes, had become hopelessly contradictory and inconsistent. It was a merit of Justinian that he wished to reduce this chaos to order. Accordingly under his authority Tribonian, an eminent jurist, aided by several associates, drew up first the *Code*, containing twelve books of statutes, and second, the *Digest* in fifty books, which summarized the decisions of all the most learned lawyers. To these they added a third work, the *Institutes*, a treatise on the principles of jurisprudence for the use of students. These writings together form the body of the Civil Law, the most precious gift of Rome to the modern world.

Gibbon, ch. xliv; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, i. p. 365 ff.

P. 258.

Justinian an oppressor.

Fortunately for the progress of the human race, the achievements of men are often superior to their actual lives. For example Tribonian, who in codifying the law did so great a service for civilization, was himself avaricious and corrupt. His master, Justinian, illustrates the same truth. While he drudged for the glory of the empire, his expensive wars and his extravagance in building inflicted a grievous burden upon his subjects. With his rare

[1] Called *Responsa* because they were given in reply to questions,

A Bridge over the Anio

instinct for choosing competent helpers, he employed John of Cappadocia to supply him with funds. The genius of Belisarius for war was equalled by the talent of this minister of finance[1] for multiplying taxes and for extorting money by fair means or foul. Under his management the wretched population groaned like slaves before a cruel driver.

Notwithstanding the abuses of Justinian's reign, we find in him another factor which made for law and order throughout the world. Especially his conquests brought the Western nations into closer contact with Roman civilization, and further impressed upon the minds of the Germans the idea that they, too, were included in the empire. The rule of the emperors, however, was financially too burdensome to be long endured in Italy. For twelve years after its conquest the peninsula was governed by Narses, an able, ambitious man, whose public improvements weighed heavily upon the taxpayers. The story is that when the Italians grew weary of his rule, and the successor of Justinian ordered him, accordingly, to return to Constantinople, he besought the Lombards to save him by invading the country. They were a German tribe who had recently settled in Pannonia. In reply to the alleged invitation, their king Alboin led them into Italy. Though warlike they seem to have been few, so that they never succeeded in conquering the whole country. Their capital was Pavia; and the district they held in the Po valley still bears the name of Lombardy. Besides this, they occupied a territory in central Italy northeast of Rome, and another in the south of the peninsula.[2]

The Lombards invade Italy, 568 A.D. Hodgkin, *Italy*, v. P. 309.

553–567 A.D.

[1] Officially pretorian prefect.

[2] Alboin did not live long after his conquest of Italy. At a banquet he once bade Rosamond, his wife, drink from a goblet made of the skull of her own father, whom the Lombard king had killed in battle.

Character of their rule.

Lacking a strong central government, the Lombards soon divided into a number of duchies, whose dukes were constantly fighting against one another, against the king, — when they had one, — and against the still unconquered districts. The Italians feared and hated them, for they were far harsher and more barbarous than the Goths had been; in fact it was only with the lapse of centuries that they gained some degree of Roman refinement.

Results of the conquest. (I) Disunion of Italy.

Meantime their occupation of Italy had a far-reaching effect upon the history of the peninsula and of Europe. Their possessions were so distributed as to leave the unconquered territory cut up into duchies of varying size, with scarcely any means of communication with one another. Though these duchies, under the nominal lordship of the exarch of Ravenna, still looked to the emperor as their sovereign, most of them were practically independent. Thus the Lombard invasion destroyed the unity of Italy. In time, the country fell into a condition somewhat like that of ancient Greece, with her brilliant independent cities, jealous of one another and constantly at war, and with her weakness in relation to foreign states. It is only in recent years that Italy has become completely, and we may hope permanently, united and free.

(II) Growth of the papal power.

As a second important result of the Lombard conquest, the pope of Rome, isolated from the exarch of Ravenna and from the emperor in the East, began to acquire, in addition to his priesthood, the character of a political ruler. The possessions of the papal office, or see, came

She obeyed, but afterward had him murdered. Becoming the wife of one of the assassins, she gave her second husband poisoned liquor, and he, discovering the treachery, compelled her to finish the fatal draught.. The annals of the German invaders abound in such stories of intrigue and violence.

to include, under the title of the Patrimony of St. Peter, many estates throughout Italy and Sicily, which, could they have been massed together, would have made a considerable kingdom. As the administrator of the Patrimony, the pope gained something of the power of an earthly, or temporal, prince. The man who did most to bring this about was Gregory the Great, an eminent statesman as well as priest, who became pope in 590 A.D. We shall see how, many years later, the pope was made wholly independent of the Eastern emperor, and how his temporal power was greatly increased and placed on a lasting basis by the favor of a Frankish king.

Hodgkin, *Italy*, v. p. 308 ff.

590–604 A.D.

P. 328.

Before beginning the story of the Franks, it is necessary to learn something of the conquest of Britain by the Angles and the Saxons. Though Roman civilization and Christianity took no deep hold upon this island, the yoke of Rome had made the Celtic population weak and cowardly. Hence, when Honorius recalled his troops from Britain, the inhabitants of that part which had been subject to Rome could not defend themselves against the barbarians who assailed them on every side. Scots from Ireland, Picts from Scotland, and Jute and Saxon pirates grievously distressed them, and threatened, in fact, to overrun the whole country. "The barbarians," groaned the wretched Britons, "drive us to the sea; the sea throws us back on the barbarians; thus two modes of death assail us, — we are either slain or drowned." At length they called upon the Jutes, a Germanic tribe, to help them against the Picts. The defenders became conquerors; and their example was followed by their more numerous kinsmen, the Angles and the Saxons, who in time subdued and settled all the Romanized part of the island. The Britons who survived were pushed back or reduced to serfdom, so that little

Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain.

411 A.D.

P. 299.

Gildas, *Groans of the Britons.*

449 A.D.

trace of them is left in the England which resulted from the conquest; on the other hand, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland remained Celtic. The leaders of the invading bands became kings, each of the small district he had subdued. In time arose seven states, — the so-called Heptarchy, — which finally united in one kingdom.

English civilization. Green, *English People;* Coman and Kendall, *England.*

As the Angles and the Saxons, before the conquest, had lived in northern Germany, far away from the empire, they knew nothing of Christianity or of Roman civilization. Under them, therefore, Britain again became barbarous and pagan. The invaders brought to their new home the manners and institutions which had been theirs in the fatherland, and from which the English people of to-day have derived their government and law, scarcely touched by the influence of Rome. As to the religion of the Anglo-Saxon conquerors, the case was quite different. Pope Gregory the Great sent them missionaries, and others came to them from Ireland, which had already been

596 A.D. Christianized. As there was some difference between the Irish and Roman churches, strife ensued, in which Rome at length triumphed; so that England became sub-

664 A.D. ject to the Roman church, acknowledging the pope as her supreme spiritual authority. It was no little gain to the cause of peace and civilization that when Britain was forever broken from the empire, religion reunited it to Rome.

The Franks. Pp. 274, 306, 311.

It remains for us to follow the story of the Franks. Politically they proved to be the most important of the Germans; for their rulers, with the help of the pope, succeeded in reducing the various invading races to unity and order, — in reëstablishing the empire in the West.

Clovis, 481–511 A.D.

Toward the end of the fifth century A.D., when the Franks were about to enter upon their great political

career, they occupied both banks of the middle and lower Rhine. Not given to wandering as were the other Germans, they had contented themselves with gradually extending their territory. We find them divided into a number of tribes, each under a chief. One of these petty sovereigns was Clovis, who began to reign in 481 A.D. His life-work was to be the founding of a united Frankish kingdom, embracing most of Gaul, together with a part of western Germany.

Sergeant, *The Franks*, chs. viii–xi.

Near him were the Romans, who still held a district in northern Gaul; to the southeast dwelt the Burgundians, and to the south the Visigoths, whose territory included not only a large portion of Gaul, but most of Spain. The Vandals held Africa; and Theodoric the Ostrogoth was soon to conquer Italy. Such was the condition of southwestern Europe at this time.

Condition of Europe, 481. A.D.
Pp. 302, 306.
Pp. 305, 313.

In a battle at Soissons Clovis conquered his Roman neighbors. He then defeated the Burgundians, and made them tributary, though he failed to incorporate them wholly in his kingdom. In another war he brought under his rule most of the West-Goths who lived in Gaul. Many years he was engaged in these conquests. Meantime he was plotting against the chiefs of the other Frankish tribes. By having them murdered, one after another, he finally united in his own hands the authority of all. Thus through war and intrigue, he did much to weld Celts, Romans, and Germans into the great Frankish nation.

Conquests of Clovis. 486 A.D.

In the beginning of his reign he and his subjects were pagan. But he married the Burgundian princess Clotilda, who chanced to belong to the Roman church; and when, somewhat later, he persuaded himself that her God had helped him win a battle, he and three thousand of his warriors were baptized into her faith. To appreciate the im-

Clovis and Christianity. 496 A.D.

portance of this event, we must recall the fact that while the Romans in what had been the Western empire were of the orthodox faith, the invading Germans, with the exception of a few families like that of Clotilda, were heterodox Arians. Again, the orthodox church naturally aimed to defend its own form of belief and to suppress Arianism. Accordingly it welcomed Clovis, and encouraged him to conquer the heretic Burgundians and West-Goths. Now it was this alliance between the Roman church and the Frankish throne which, three centuries later, was to refound the empire in the West and to give a new character to mediæval history.

Pp. 327, 330.

The Merovingians. Adams, *French Nation*, ch. iii.

Clovis was a barbarian; though converted to Christianity, he remained treacherous and cruel to the end. Nevertheless, as the maker of a strong, influential nation, he did a priceless service for civilization. His descendants, who continued to rule for nearly two and a half centuries after him, carried on his work. They are called Merovingians, from Merowig, grandfather of Clovis. We need not dwell on the details of their long reign. For a time the members of the dynasty were able and aggressive. Under them the kingdom of the Franks grew in extent and prospered; not only did important German nations[1] submit to them, but they gained more thorough control of Burgundy and of southern Gaul — the land of the Visigoths. Then their conquests ceased; instead of consolidating the great kingdom, rival heirs to the throne of Clovis began to murder one another and to waste the country in civil war. Their cruelty fills nearly a century of their country's history. Sometimes the heirs divided the provinces among themselves, and again a strong ruler would reunite the kingdom.

511–752 A.D.

511–548 A.D.

548–638 A.D.

[1] Thuringia, Swabia, and Bavaria. Frisia was added by the following dynasty.

The tendency was to a division into three loosely connected states, — Austrasia, which was thoroughly German; Neustria, whose population contained an influential Roman element; and Burgundy. The last important Merovingian king was Dagobert, whose reign ended in 638. Thereafter the rulers of this dynasty were so weak and worthless as to earn the title of do-nothing kings.

Dagobert, 628–638 A.D.

As these rulers grew more and more feeble, the steward of the royal household, termed Mayor of the Palace, gradually took the management of public affairs into his own hands and became prime minister. In Austrasia the position came to be hereditary in a powerful family known to history as Carolingian, from Charles the Great, its most illustrious member. The achievement of the early Carolingians was to reunite the Frankish nation. This work was completed by Mayor Charles, afterward surnamed Martel. It was an especially fortunate event, for the Franks needed their combined strength against the Mohammedans, who had recently conquered Spain and were now threatening all Europe.

Mayors of the Palace.

P. 328.

Charles Martel.

The Mohammedans were followers of Mohammed, who was born about 571 A.D., in Mecca, the holy city of Arabia. Before his time the Arabs were idolaters, but he presented himself to them as the prophet of the one God. With a marvellous personality and a deep knowledge of the religious and moral needs of his people, he wrote and spoke as one inspired. His writings, which afterward composed the Koran, he asserted to be a revelation from God; to his followers they were what the Bible was to the Christians. When the men of Mecca threatened his life, he fled to Medina, whose inhabitants warmly welcomed him. As his church grew strong, he proclaimed that the faith should be forced upon unbelievers. "The sword," he declared, "is

The Mohammedans.

622 A.D.

Gibbon, ch. l.

the key of heaven and hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, avails more than two months of fasting and prayer; whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion, and odoriferous as musk; and the loss of limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels." Henceforth his followers rapidly increased. Some were attracted by faith, others by fear, and others by hope of conquest and plunder. Soon the army of believers spread the faith over Arabia, Syria, Persia, and as far into Asia as Alexander the Great had marched. But when they tried to conquer the Roman empire in the East, the walls of

P. 333.

Constantinople withstood the shock of their fanatic arms. On the south shore of the Mediterranean, however, they met with little resistance. They conquered Egypt, and in the

Freeman, *Saracens*.

course of the seventh century A.D. the entire African coast to the Strait of Gibraltar. Fierce religious enthusiasm, absolute faith in destiny, — in the future bliss of the devout warrior of God, — the glory and the rewards of victory,

711 A.D.

swept them impatiently on. Early in the eighth century, they crossed to Spain and readily overran the decayed kingdom of the Visigoths. Their empire now lay along the Mediterranean in a stupendous crescent, whose horns threatened Christian Europe east and west.

The battle of Poitiers (or of Tours), 732 A.D.

When they invaded France, at first with their usual success, Christianity seemed doomed; but a power existed with which the Saracens had not reckoned, — the fresh virile nation of Franks lately united under Mayor Charles. At his call, thousands of stalwart warriors gathered to repel the danger. The hosts met in battle near Poitiers in 732 A.D. All day the light cavalry of the invaders dashed in vain against the immovable ranks of Frankish infantry. The Mohammedans lost vast numbers, including their able

commander. They saw at once that they had met their superiors; and deserting their camp, they retreated southward. The victory saved western Europe from the Mohammedans; though they were still able to annoy, they were no longer dangerous. To Charles, the victor, after ages gave the name Martel — the Hammer — in remembrance of his blows which crushed all enemies.

Charles died in 741 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Pippin. Father and son pursued the same methods of building up the power of the Franks; and we need not separate their work here. Outlying provinces which had revolted they reduced to submission; they further strengthened the central authority by engaging the nobles in their service; they brought the churches of the realm into one religious system, which, however, they held subordinate to the State; and with the aid of religion they strove to uplift the morals of their people. As the Franks, while retaining much of their primitive barbarism, had adopted the vices of Roman civilization, there was now great need of reform.

Mayor Pippin, 741–751 A.D.

Charles remained simply mayor to his death; but Pippin deposed the royal Merovingian puppet, and himself became king by a double ceremony: the Franks elected him in their own fashion, and the Church anointed him with holy oil according to biblical usage. Thus he ascended the throne with the consent of the pope. In fact the relations between the papal see and the Frankish throne had been friendly from the days of Clovis, and now ripened into a close alliance. Charles Martel had been asked for help against the Lombards, who were besieging the pope in Rome. When another pope found himself threatened by the Lombards, he called on Pippin for aid. Thereupon the king of the Franks twice invaded Italy, took

King Pippin, 751–768 A.D.

P. 324.

from the Lombards the country about Ravenna, — a territory they had wrested from the emperor; and instead of restoring it to the rightful owner, he placed it under the rule of the pope. This dominion came to the pope in addition to the actual landed property of his office included under the term Patrimony of St. Peter. As he was now able to throw off all allegiance to the emperor, and as the gift of Pippin was indeed vast, this donation rather than the earlier Patrimony is generally considered the beginning of the pope's temporal power. The head of the Church now possessed great revenues, an army, and an influential place among the princes of this world. His temporal power lasted till 1870, when his dominions passed to Victor Emmanuel, king of Italy.

P. 321.

Charlemagne, 768–814 A.D. Emerton, *Middle Ages*, chs. xiii, xiv.

Charles, who succeeded his father Pippin in 768, is known to us as Charles the Great — Charlemagne. From the fact that he stamped his character upon western Europe, and gave direction to the current of its history for centuries, we reckon him among the most eminent men of all time.

Appearance and character. Hodgkin, *Charles the Great*, p. 85; cf. Einhard, *Charles the Great*.

"He was a man of commanding presence, more than six feet high, with large and lustrous eyes, a rather long nose, a bright and cheerful countenance, and a fine head of hair, which we may suppose to have been . . . yellow like that of his Teutonic forefathers." More remarkable than the beauty and the majesty of his person was his genius for political organization and government, directed by a well-considered purpose of educating his people and of improving their religious and moral condition.

His conquests.

One of his chief aims was to round out his kingdom on the east by the conquest of Saxony. Early in his reign, accordingly, he began the war, which lasted with many interruptions more than thirty years. To conquer an enemy whom he

772–803 A.D.

could not find, who would not meet him in open fight, who loved freedom and kindred above every law or treaty obligation, was a wearisome task. At length, however, it was done; the Saxons accepted Christianity and the firm, just rule of Charlemagne. Early in the Saxon war, in an interval of quiet, Charlemagne invaded Spain to support a faction of Mohammedans against the central government. 778 A.D.

THE IRON CROWN OF LOMBARDY

The inner circle of iron said to have been made from a nail of the True Cross. (Cathedral of Monza.)

The campaign was a failure; and while recrossing the Alps the army fell into an ambuscade which the mountain Basques had laid for it in a gorge at Roncesvalles. The king lost his baggage-train and many men. Among the officers killed was one who under the name of Roland afterward became a famous hero of romance. Notwithstanding the failure of this expedition, later efforts pushed the Frankish border some distance south of the Pyrenees. 785–812 A.D.

Conquest of Lombardy, 774 A.D.

The wars which he found necessary for defending his kingdom, and for knitting it together, need not detain us. Far more important was his conquest of the Lombards, in response to another call of the pope for help against them. Charlemagne himself assumed the iron crown of Lombardy in addition to his sovereignty over the Franks. On Christmas Day, 800 A.D., while he was kneeling at prayer in the Church of St. Peter, Pope Leo III crowned him Emperor of the Romans. In one sense this was a revival of the Roman empire of the West: Roman learning,[1] Roman traditions, and the potent influence of Roman law, system, and centralization continued in it. In another sense it was Germanic: the dominant race was German; the Frankish nation, which had brought about this union of the races, remained the most thoroughly German of all the invaders; much of the strength, the vitality, and the free life of the Germans animated this empire, at once new and old. For a capital, so far as he needed one, Charlemagne preferred Aachen, — Aix-la-Chapelle, — or some other German city, to Rome. His heart was German; his mind only was Roman. In his system, too, the idea of Christendom largely supplanted that of the Roman world. "Germanic nationality, the Christian religion according to Rome, and the leadership of the Franks, — these were the three bases upon which the empire of Charlemagne rested." It was not the same in extent as the empire of the West; for it left out Britain, most of Spain, all Africa, and a part of Italy; on the other hand, it included Germany as far

Emperor Charles, 800–814 A.D.

Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, p. 6.

[1] Latin, too, was the language of learning throughout the realm of Charlemagne; but the uneducated Germans who settled within the Roman empire met with little success in their attempt to learn the speech of the Romans (p. 258). The dialects resulting from these efforts have developed into the modern Romance languages, as the Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese.

at least as the Elbe, — a vast territory Rome had tried in vain to conquer. Not least among his services, Charlemagne so massed the strength of the Germans that they could ward off the Slavs and the Turanians, who pressed upon them from the east.

Church and State.

The most interesting feature of his government was his relation to the pope. Following the example of his forefathers, Charlemagne made himself temporal head of the Church as thoroughly as of the State. He controlled the clergy, and presided over the religious councils which regulated sacred affairs. The pope was spiritual adviser, whose religious sanctions added weight to the acts of the emperor. Thus the Church was still subordinate to the State; the struggle for supremacy between the emperor and the pope belonged to the future.

The empire survives to 1806 A.D.

Though some years after his death his country was divided, the idea and the influence of the empire were permanent. Thereafter men held persistently to the belief in a unity of Christian nations under one head, — this was the controlling idea of the Middle Ages. Formally the empire of Charlemagne continued till Napoleon Bonaparte destroyed it in 1806, a thousand years after its founding.

The empire in the East after Justinian.

Oman, *European History*, chs. ix, xii, xiv, xviii.

P. 318.

Pp. 315, 316.

Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii. p. 67 ff.

While the German nations were establishing themselves in the West, preparatory to their union under Charlemagne, the empire in the East was slowly decaying. The brilliant reign of Justinian exhausted the resources of his people. His immediate successors, mostly well-minded men of average ability, pursued ends too high for their means. Their wars and excessive taxes continued to waste the empire. They soon lost their foothold in Spain and most of Italy. On the Danubian border Goths and Lombards gave way to Turanian Avars, who plundered the European provinces, seized strongholds, and levied fines on the government. Then came hordes of Slavs, to overrun Mœsia, Thrace, and Greece. Cunning savages at first, far lower than

the most barbarous Germans, in the end they formed colonies, whence have come the Croats, Servians, and Bosnians of modern times.

Wars with Persia. 565–578. (Tiberius Constantinus, 578–582.) 582–602 A.D. 602–610 A.D.

Meanwhile there was almost continual war with Persia. Justin II, nephew and heir of Justinian, foolishly attacked the great power of the East, and left to his successor the legacy of a burdensome, fruitless struggle. Maurice, a ruler of good character and of fair ability, made terms with Persia, and promised his subjects some degree of happiness; but he was killed in a mutiny led by Phocas, a rough soldier, who usurped the throne. The new ruler was a weak tyrant, whose only pleasure was in cruelty and brutal self-indulgence. In his reign the Persians overran the eastern provinces and even Asia Minor. Soon,

Heraclius, 610–641 A.D.

however, he was deposed and killed by Heraclius, whose father, of the same name, was exarch of Africa. For ten years after the younger Heraclius ascended the throne, the Persians continued to gain ground. They not only held Mesopotamia, Syria, and Asia Minor, but even seized Jerusalem and conquered Egypt. The loss of the rich valley of the Nile seemed fatal to the empire; but the capture of the holy city roused the Christians to a crusade for its recovery. In violation of court etiquette, Hera-

626–628 A.D.

clius took the field in person, and in a succession of campaigns

628 A.D.

displayed a military genius the empire had not seen since Julius Cæsar. He recovered the lost provinces, and compelled Persia to sue for peace.

The Mohammedans and the empire. 629 A.D.

In the following year the Mohammedans first assailed the empire, and at the same time attacked Persia. Neither of the great powers could withstand the fierce onset of the Arabs. Year after year the fanatics of the desert renewed their attacks in greater numbers and with increasing fury, till Persia was forever humbled, and Heraclius, old and feeble from sickness, saw

640 A.D.

the dreaded enemy in possession of Mesopotamia, Syria, and

641 A.D.

even Egypt. After his death, the Moslems, while sweeping over northern Africa into Spain, advanced their empire to the gates

717 A.D.

of Constantinople. The crisis came early in the eighth century when a hundred thousand Mohammedans marched to besiege the capital of the empire, and a thousand of their ships blockaded the Bosporus. Leo the Isaurian, who came to the throne

Leo of Isauria, 717–741 A.D.

at this time, was equal to the emergency. While his Greek fire burned a great part of their armada, he drove their land forces

back with terrible slaughter. Thus Leo in 718, as Charles Martel fourteen years afterward, saved Christendom from the Moslems. P. 327.

After the victory Leo applied himself to administration. To purify the Christian religion from what he considered superstition, he ordered all holy images to be removed or destroyed, and all pictures on church walls to be obliterated. Hence he is called the first iconoclastic or image-breaking emperor. Although Italy **Image breaking.**

PERSIAN WARRIORS
(National Museum, Naples.)

defied the order, he enforced it against great opposition throughout the East. The three following rulers who were of his dynasty continued the war alike upon the Saracens and upon images. This zeal caused a rupture between the churches of the East and West, for the pope of Rome and the Western clergy favored the use of images. But when the Empress Irene took the reins of government, at first as regent for her son Constantine VI, she revived image-worship. The Slavs and the Saracens ravaged her country, and Charlemagne set up a rival empire in the West. 741–780 A.D. (Constantine VI, 780–797; Irene, 797–802 A.D.) P. 278.

But the empire was naturally strong. Roman organization, discipline, and experience in administration accumulated through hundreds of years, kept the state alive for centuries after Irene, **Roman strength.**

amid wars and barbarian invasions; and the state on its part preserved for the modern world a remnant of the vast treasure of ancient civilization.

Reading

Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chs. xxxix–lii; Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, iii–viii; *Dynasty of Theodosius; Theodoric* (heroes); *Charles the Great;* Davis, *Charlemagne* (heroes); **Bury,** *History of the Later Roman Empire*, i. p. 280, to the end of ii; **Emerton,** *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chs. vi–xiv; Church, *Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, chs. ii–vii; Oman, *Europe*, 476–918, chs. i–xxii; *Byzantine Empire* (nations); *Art of War*, ii; Sergeant, *The Franks* (nations); Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chs. v–vii; Duruy, *History of the Middle Ages*, bk. I. chs. iii–v; bks. II, III; Thatcher and Schwill, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, chs. ii–v; Henderson, *History of Germany in the Middle Ages*, chs. ii–v; Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, chs. iv, v; Finlay, *History of Greece*, I. chs. iii–v; II. bk. i; Hadley, *Introduction to Roman Law;* Muirhead, *Roman Law;* Morey, *Outlines of Roman Law;* Howe, *Studies in the Civil Law and its Relations to the Law of England and America;* Fling, *Studies in European History*, i. p. 146 ff. (extracts from the Roman law); Gilman, *The Saracens* (nations); Freeman, *History and Conquests of the Saracens;* Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages;* Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall: Life of Mahomet;* Mohammed, *The Qur'án* (Koran), translated by Palmer.

A Roman and his Wife
(Vatican Museum, Rome.)

CHAPTER XV

THE PRIVATE AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE ROMANS

In the Late Republic and Early Empire

Birth and education.

The greatness of Rome in the best days of the republic was largely due to the peculiar character of the Roman family. As the father was accustomed to expose weak or deformed children, leaving them to die or be picked up by strangers, those whom he spared[1] usually grew up healthy

[1] On the ninth day after birth the son who was to be reared received his name. The parents selected the personal name — *prænomen;* that of the gens — *nomen* — and of the family — *cognomen* — passed from father to son. Sometimes a second *cognomen* was added as a memorial of a conquest, or as indicating an adoption. In "Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus," the first word is the name of the person, the second of the gens, the third of the family, and the fourth distinguishes the bearer as the conqueror of Africa.

and strong. Both parents were equally careful to train the children in the stern, simple virtues which made good soldiers and great citizens. During the early republic girls and boys received all their instruction from their parents, in the house, field, shop, or senate. In course of time, however, as more attention was paid to education, and as business and statesmanship alike came to demand a knowledge of Greek, private schools were opened. After the children had learned reading, writing, and arithmetic, they advanced to the study of literature, including Greek and Latin authors; and finally the boy was instructed in composition and oratory as a preparation for public life. Toward the end of the republic there were in wealthy families educated slaves and paid rhetoricians and philosophers who attended to the various grades of instruction till the youth was ready to put the finishing touches to his education in the schools of Athens, Rhodes, or some other cultured Hellenic city.

Marriage

When he had completed his studies and had reached the age of perhaps twenty-five or thirty, it was his duty to marry. After deciding upon a lady whom he judged suitable to be his wife, he arranged the betrothal with her father, as the maiden was usually too young to be consulted in the matter, and furthermore Roman women were always under guardianship. The marriage ceremonies began with a feast and sacrifices in the house of the bride's father. In the evening a procession of youths, torch-bearers, musicians, and guests escorted the bride to her future home, where the groom carefully lifted her over the threshold, as it was an ill omen for her to touch the sill with her foot. In case the wedding was of the ancient sacred form termed *confarreatio*, the newly married pair after entering the house ate together a sacred cake in the

presence of ten witnesses and of the chief pontiff and priest of Jupiter. The ceremonies of the evening ended with a bridal song by the guests, and on the following day the husband gave a marriage feast to his friends.

Though early custom placed the wife in the power of her husband, she went freely into society, attended the **The matron.**

A Fountain

(Palace of the Conservatori, Rome.)

theatres and public games, taught her children, and sometimes aided her husband in his political career. Her position as mistress of the household commanded respect from the government as well as from society.

Under the empire some remarkable changes took place in family life. We discover a tendency to treat children with increasing kindness and consideration. Waifs, **Better treatment of children.**

exposed by their parents, had frequently been picked up by strangers, who reared them as slaves or even maimed and blinded them to adapt them to the profession of begging. It was a sign of growing humanity, however, that
P. 248. Trajan provided a fund for rearing poor children, — a measure which checked the exposure and mistreatment of infants. At the same time parents and teachers began to substitute kindness for whipping in the education of the young. No matter how old a son might be, the father had a right to kill him without trial, till Hadrian changed the custom by punishing as a murderer a man who had slain his son.

Increasing immorality.

This development of the rights of children was an omen of evil as well as of good; for the strict morality of old Rome disappeared along with the iron rule of the father. Before the end of the republic the sacred forms of marriage were giving way to civil contracts made and dissolved at pleasure. Such agreements left the wife in charge of her property and free from her husband's power. Whatever improvement this change may have wrought in the condition of women, it was a clear proof of moral depravity, which had brought the pure life of the family to an end. Divorce grew alarmingly frequent; Seneca, the philosopher, says there were women who reckoned their years by the number of their husbands. In the gay society of the capital many men avoided the responsibility of rearing a family, or reluctantly submitted to marriage through fear of the law. With the decline of the family, once the nursery of virtue, Roman society became thoroughly corrupt; men and women sought pleasure not only in extravagant luxuries, but even in monstrous vices and crimes.
P. 235. Morals were probably at their worst in the early empire; in the reign of Vespasian society was already growing better.

The private life of the Romans was far more secluded from public view than ours is. If a man had a beautiful garden, he surrounded it with a high wall, as the Italians do at the present day. If his house stood on the street, he gave the passers-by no opportunity to look within. The traveller who walks through the narrow streets of Pompeii

The Roman house — exterior.

HOUSE FURNITURE

(From Pompeii.)

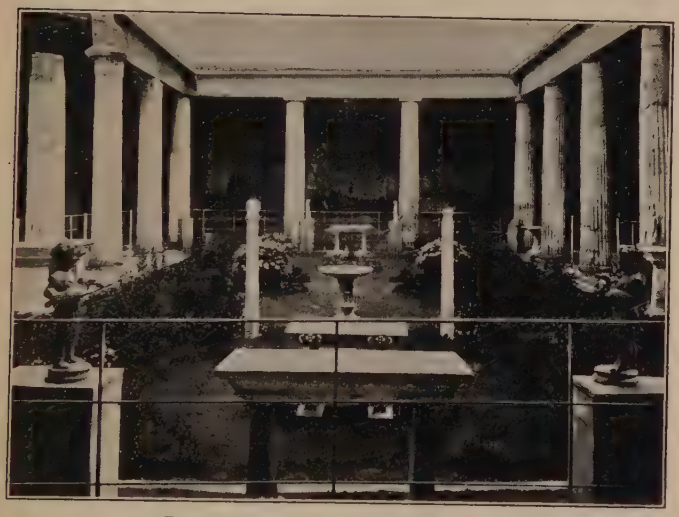
sees on both sides plain walls with a few small windows opening from the second floor. Two thousand years ago a visitor at one of these houses came first to the vestibule, a narrow entrance court from which a hall led to the heavy oaken door. As the visitor approached, the porter, roused from a nap in his little lodge, opened the door. The dog growled, or in place of the living animal, the guest perhaps saw the creature represented in mosaic on the pavement, with the words, "Beware of the dog — *cave canem!*"

The atrium. The guest entered the *atrium*, where he found the lord of the house. Originally it was the only room; but as the dwelling grew in size and the apartments multiplied, it came to be used chiefly for receiving guests. It was roofed over with the exception of an opening in the centre, which admitted the light and through which the rain poured into a square basin in the floor. In the middle of the basin was a fountain adorned with beautiful reliefs; and the entire atrium was richly decorated with costly pillars, statues, paintings, and purple hangings. On the floor were fine mosaics. An alcove, termed *tablinum*, in the rear of the atrium contained the family archives, and on each side of the tablinum was a recess, — *ala*, — in which nobles kept the waxen masks and other portraits of their ancestors.

The dining rooms. Adjoining the atrium and in various quarters of the house were dining rooms termed *triclinia*, each containing at least one table. Three sides of the table were occupied by couches on which the luxurious Romans reclined while eating their sumptuous repasts. A board on the fourth side held the costly vases and curiosities of the proprietor; and the whole room was lavishly adorned with works of art.

The peristyle. More secluded than the atrium, yet more open to the sky, was the peristyle, an inner court so named from the columns which surrounded the large uncovered square in the centre. This open space contained a fountain in the midst of flower-beds and trees. Around this court were the sleeping rooms and other private apartments of the women, whereas those of the men were often grouped about the atrium. There were also a kitchen, elaborate bath-rooms, and sometimes a library. This description applies to the first floor. The Romans piled one story above another till Augustus limited the height of houses to

seventy feet. The upper rooms are not so well known, nor could they have been so attractive, as those of the ground floor. Indeed the Roman deprived himself of many private comforts that he might make a rich display before his guests. The wealthy man's dwelling was very large: the so-called House of the Faun at Pompeii occu-



PERISTYLE OF A HOUSE IN POMPEII

(House of the Vetti.)

pies an entire square; that of the Roman noble usually covered a far greater area. 262 by 125 ft.

The care of a lordly residence required the service of a multitude of slaves; we hear of a man who in the country and city together employed more than four thousand.[1] They were organized, somewhat like an army, in divisions and companies under their several overseers. Each ser- Slaves.

[1] Athenæus, vi. 104, makes the statement, doubtless exaggerated, that a Roman sometimes possessed as many as twenty thousand slaves.

vant had as his special duty some minute part of the household work. Many were needed for the ceremonies attending the admission of guests, many for the care of the baths, bedrooms, kitchen, and dining rooms, as well as for the wardrobes, toilet, and personal service of the various members of the family. On going out the master or mistress was accompanied by a throng of servants, whose number and splendid livery advertised the rank and wealth of their owner. Other companies of slaves spun wool, made clothes, kept the house in repair, and cared for the sick. There were some whose task was to enforce order and quiet among the rest. We could hardly believe that so many persons in a single household could find employment or that the processes of labor could be so minutely portioned out, did we not take into account the genius of the Romans for organization. On the country estates were ploughmen, herdsmen, vinedressers, gardeners, keepers of bees, poultry, and fish, and many other classes of laborers.

Cruel treatment.

Slaves not born in the household were obtained by war, kidnapping, or purchase; on a single estate one might see representatives of all the nationalities of the known world. As a rule the master treated them with extreme harshness and cruelty. He encouraged quarrels among them that they might not join in plotting against his own life; for the slightest offences he scourged, tortured, or crucified them. He threw them into the ponds to feed his fish, or to the wild beasts of the arena. In the country they often worked in gangs chained together, and slept in crowded, filthy dungeons. Those who were too old or too sickly to work or to put on the market, the master exposed at the shrine of Æsculapius on an island in the Tiber, or killed outright. He fed and clothed all poorly, kept them at hard labor, and when they were worn out, he bought fresh

ones. This inhuman treatment goaded the slaves of Sicily to two fierce revolts, which Rome subdued with great difficulty. For the same reason a multitude of those in Italy joined the insurrection of Spartacus the gladiator. Slavery was in brief the economic, social, and moral curse of Rome, and a cause of her downfall.

P. 132.
138 (?)–132, 105–99 B.C.
P. 177.

Improved condition.

In the imperial period men and women gradually learned to treat their slaves with greater kindness. Claudius and other emperors after him made laws to check the worst abuses: courts were established to hear the complaints of those who were ill treated; the killing of a slave came to be punishable as homicide; and finally the jurists taught that the law of nature had made slaves human beings. The philosophers preceded the jurists in encouraging kind treatment of inferiors; and indeed from various causes the Romans were growing more refined and humane. We hear of a lady as tender as a mother to her slaves; we know also that those of Pliny the Younger enjoyed substantially the rights of freemen and at the same time the care of an affectionate master.

P. 226.

A Well-curb
(Vatican Museum, Rome.)

Originally, too, the law forbade slaves to marry; living together in an informal union, a slave pair had no right to their children. Later, however, the jurists applied the terms husband and wife to those who had formed such

unions, and Constantine the Great forbade the separation of the slave family.

Freedmen.

From early times it often happened that a slave won his freedom by faithful service or purchased it with his savings. He then became a client of his former master, whose business it was customary for him to help manage. The freedmen formed a large, intelligent class, socially inferior to freemen, but very enterprising and influential; a man of this rank often controlled the patron whom he pretended to serve. Some of them, after accumulating vast wealth, became intolerably overbearing. The tendency of emancipation, however, was to break down class feeling and privileges in favor of the social and legal equality of mankind.

Social life.

P. 252.

The imperial household, like that of any noble, depended on the labor of slaves and freedmen. In the morning the emperor received the magistrates, senators, courtiers, and friends. The lengthy ceremony was fatiguing alike to guests and host. In the same manner the nobles received their clients, who if poor were given their daily allowance of twenty-five *asses*, — the equivalent of a dinner; candidates for office came likewise to ask for the favor of the rich man's influence. Every morning, accordingly, the streets were thronged with these crowds of early callers. In the afternoon the master of a house entertained his friends at dinner, or perhaps accepted an invitation to dine out. Whereas in early times the Romans ate sparingly and drank little wine, we find them in the imperial period taxing to the utmost the resources of professional cooks in the preparation of dainty dishes, or ransacking the world for costly surprises with which to please their guests. Their dinners consisted of many and varied courses; they drank rare wines, and prolonged their revels till morning.

Meanwhile they were entertained with music, pantomimes, and dancing girls. While some found their only pleasure in festive gayety, sensible persons, seeing the formalities of society demanding so large a share of their time, were glad to quit Rome for a period of quiet life at Tibur, Laurentum, or some other country retreat. In the hot season all who could afford it forsook the city, some for

A Roman Meal

their inland villas, others for the seaside resorts, the most famous of which was Baiæ.

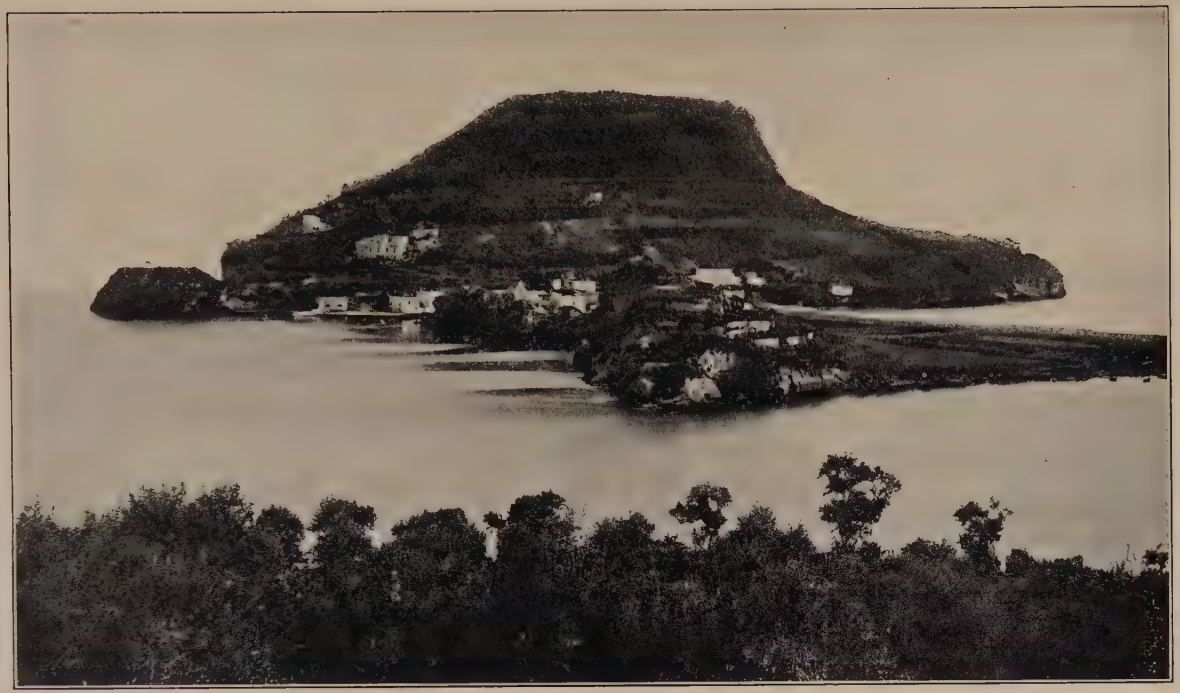
Amusements.

The amusements of a people throw a clear light upon their character. In the earliest times the laborious Romans contented themselves with few holidays and simple recreations; but as their power and wealth increased, the number and magnificence of their public festivals grew, till in the reign of Marcus Aurelius this imperial nation enjoyed every year a hundred and thirty-five holidays crowded with

expensive entertainments. Among the most popular
The circus. amusements were the chariot races in the Circus Maximus.
P. 33. From the time of the kings this building increased in size till under the Flavian emperors it could seat one hundred and fifty thousand spectators. From morning till evening, with few intervals for refreshment, a vast crowd watched with intense interest the succession of races which filled the programme of many a holiday. The people divided into factions, red, white, blue, and green, named from the colors of the charioteers. Blue and green came to be the principal emblems; in the rivalry of the factions they represented, the populace now spent much of the excitement it had once vented in the political contests of the
P. 315. Forum. In the reign of Justinian this factional strife at Constantinople broke out in a riot which came near overpowering the government.

The chariot race. Standing upright in his two-wheeled car, each driver grasped the reins of his four horses, which were harnessed
P. 139. abreast. At a signal from the ædile, four chariots began the race. As they whirled round the goal at either end, there was extreme danger of collision; often a car and team were overturned and the driver was killed. Meantime the others sped on till they had made the seventh round, while all the spectators cheered their favorite colors and hooted rivals. The victorious driver and his horses received extravagant honors.

The arena — gladiatorial shows. Apart from burdening the taxpayers and encouraging idleness, the sports of the circus did little harm; those of the arena, on the other hand, brutalized the spectators. The Romans adopted gladiatorial shows from Etruria, in 264 B.C. At first they exhibited these contests at funerals, doubtless with the idea of offering human blood to the spirits of the dead. It was not long, however, before the



BAIÆ
(The Famous Bathing-place of the Romans.)

bloody games were diverted to the amusement of the living. Schools for the training of gladiators were opened at Capua, Præneste, and in several other places. The masters admitted as pupils slaves, prisoners of war, condemned criminals, and sometimes citizens. Pupils underwent the most terrible discipline to strengthen their bodies, to inure them to pain, and to give them the necessary skill and courage. They developed the utmost variety in the use of weapons and modes of fighting, that the spectators might never find their entertainments monotonous.

Brutality of the arena.

In the later republic the taste of the Romans for these games became a passion. Candidates for office bought favor by exhibiting them; and when single combats no longer sufficed, bands of gladiators were arrayed against each other. To celebrate the conquest of Dacia, Trajan sent ten thousand of them into the arena. Besides gladiatorial shows, the spectators in the Colosseum saw fights between men and savage beasts; to rouse a keener interest, the managers sometimes bound criminals to stakes and then let wild animals loose to tear in pieces the helpless victims. Statesmen commended these inhuman scenes on the ground that they accustomed the spectators to blood and prepared them to face death in battle. Seneca alone raised his voice against such cruelty, yet in vain. Gradually the provincials adopted these bloody sports from the capital and they continued to demoralize the world till in the reign of Honorius Christianity brought them to an end.

P. 235.

Theatres and baths.

The theatre, if less brutal, was in other respects equally depraved. The Romans of the imperial period would not endure tragedy; and comedy, to succeed, had to be indecent and profane. The public baths, too, were morally pernicious. In fact the amusements of the Romans show them coarse and inhuman. In the late republic and early

empire, morality had probably reached its lowest depth in all the world's history. The reason is well known. From the beginning the Romans were without ideals, — a purely practical nation, whom wealth and power served only to render gross. But there were some good men even in Rome, while in the rural districts of Italy, and still more in the provinces, life remained wholesome; the good outweighed the evil.

CINERARY URN
(Vatican Museum, Rome.)

Death.

Whatever his character, a man had at some time to give up his business or pleasure, and die. Kinsmen and friends took part in the funeral procession. The dancers, the music, the acting of the mimes, whose leader mimicked the deceased, the waxen masks worn by persons dressed to represent the ancestors, the wailing of hired mourners, — all combined to make the ceremony at once solemn and grotesque. A near kinsman pronounced a eulogy on the deceased; the corpse was burned on the funeral pyre; and an urn containing the ashes was deposited in the family tomb.

Achievements.

Individuals and nations pass away; their achievements are the world's inheritance. Conspicuous among the works of the Romans, their art expressed their character with mar-

vellous truth. To their statesmen it served to glorify power and attract the people. By employing the round arch in vaults and domes, by adapting the Greek column to decorative purposes, and with the aid of most skilful engineering, they gave architecture a grandeur of design and a variety of combination which have made every product of the Orient and of Greece itself appear immature in comparison. The Pantheon, the Colosseum, the Baths, and the Basilica of Constantine testify to this superiority. These works "rest so heavily and with so much majesty upon the earth that we may take them as a figure of Roman sway." Following close upon the advance of sovereignty, Roman art has left relics in every province from the Euphrates to the north of England, each work affected by local color, but all bearing the stamp of the imperial city.

Architecture.

Duruy, *Rome*, viii. p. 380.

Sculpture expressed in no less degree the greatness of the empire. From the conquest of Greece to the reign of Augustus, Greek artists found in Roman patronage the motive for a renaissance of their art. The reproduction and imitation of Hellenic masterpieces created a Roman school of sculpture, which produced a multitude of portraits, spirited and masterly, in dress and personality true to life. Far more characteristic, however, are the narrative reliefs traced on public buildings, triumphal arches, and columns, — chiselled picture-books of Roman victories.

Sculpture.

Painting experienced a similar growth. Roman frescoes, surpassing those of Greece, afforded patterns for early Christian art, and inspired the masters of the Italian renaissance.

Painting.

Another achievement of Rome was character. Our hasty glance into the society of the wealthy at the time of their lowest depravity fails to do the nation justice. We go back

Character.

in history to the era before the Punic Wars to find citizens whose superiors the world has not known. In that age Duty and Discipline were the great commandments to which the family and society, citizens and soldiers, yielded religious obedience. It was the heroic qualities of those men of

THE BOY HERCULES
(Wall-painting, Pompeii.)

old which made Rome great; and after the society of the capital had become a hotbed of vice, the legions of Italian peasants and of provincials kept alive for centuries longer the soldierly virtues of the early republic, — the discipline of Augustus and Hadrian came down to them from Cincinnatus and Papirius. Corrupt Rome produced individual

characters grander than even the imaginary beings of the dim past. No mythical Brutus was so noble a patriot as either of the Gracchi; no gods of early Rome could compare with Cæsar and the best emperors in power and will to protect and bless their subjects.

Defenders and teachers of Europe.

A further task of the Romans was to defend European civilization. This they accomplished in their wars with the Carthaginians, Parthians, Persians, and Arabs. It was of the utmost importance to the future of the world that Europe, instead of falling into dependence on Asia, should remain free to develop the genius of the West. Again, the Romans, after taking lessons of the Greeks, became teachers of the European nations. Though they were stern masters, often selfish and unscrupulous, the training they gave was most valuable. From them Europe learned the arts of peace as well as of war, — lessons in building good dwellings and substantial public works, in forming courts of justice and municipal governments, lessons in law, in administration, in obedience to authority, and finally intellectual education and the Christian religion. As Rome grew old and declined in power, her influence extended and deepened; and when she fell, the heritage of her civilization and discipline passed equally to Romans and Teutons — her children by birth and adoption. Grown to manhood, these sons of Rome form to-day the great family of Christian nations in Europe and the Americas.

Reading

Preston and Dodge, *Private Life of the Romans;* **Pellison,** Roman *Life in Pliny's Time;* Thomas, *Roman Life under the Cæsars;* Inge, *Society in Rome under the Cæsars;* Church, *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero;* Becker, *Gallus;* Rydberg, *Roman Days;* Bury, *Student's Roman Empire,* ch. xxxi; **Guhl and Koner,** *Life of the Greeks and Romans;* Falke, *Greece and Rome, their Life and Art;* Rheinhard,

Album des klassischen Altertums; Mau, *Pompeii, its Life and Art;* Boissier, *La Religion Romaine,* bk. III; Granger, *The Worship of the Romans viewed in Relation to Roman Temperament;* Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms,* 3 vols.; Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer,* in Marquardt and Mommsen, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer,* 2 vols.

CHAPTER XVI

HELPS TO THE STUDY OF ROMAN HISTORY

Example of a Topical Outline

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROMAN CONSTITUTION DURING THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE REPUBLIC (509–264 B.C.)

I. General Character.

1. The number of magistrates increases.
2. The plebeians win equal rights with the patricians.
3. While *in form* the government becomes democratic, *in fact* the gradations of rank and privilege multiply.

II. Social Ranks.

1. The patricians — nobles.
   - *a.* Probable origin — leadership brings wealth and honor; these qualities when inherited are the basis of nobility.
   - *b.* Other theories of their origin.
     - (1) That they are the original settlers (Mommsen).
     - (2) That they are conquerors (Ihne).
   - *c.* Original rights and duties.
     - (1) To sit in the senate as well as vote in the assemblies.
     - (2) To be priests, judges, magistrates, and commanders of the army.
     - (3) To serve in the cavalry; a patrician rarely serves on foot.
     - (4) To enjoy the use (*possessio*) of the public land.
     - (5) To intermarry among themselves (*ius conubi*); to buy, sell, and make contracts (*ius commerci*).
2. Plebeians — commons.
   - *a.* Probable origin — simply the people as distinguished from their leaders, who become nobles.

b. Other theories of their origin.
(1) Alien residents (Mommsen).
(2) Conquered subjects (Ihne).
c. Original rights and duties.
(1) To vote in the assemblies.
(2) To intermarry with one another but not with the patricians.
(3) To buy, sell, and make contracts.
(4) To serve in the infantry.
(5) To labor on the public works.

3. Clients.
a. Origin — plebeians who have placed themselves under the protection of a patron.
b. Public rights — the same as those of the plebeians.
c. Private rights (*ius commerci* and *conubi*) — under the guardianship of the patron.
d. Relation between patron and client.
(1) Nature of the relation.
(*a*) Like that of parent and child.
(*b*) Religious sanction — those who offend are accursed.
(*c*) Hereditary.
(2) Patron protects; supervises business; helps in need.
(3) Client follows his patron in war (nearly obsolete); votes for him; works in his field or brings gifts.
(4) Mutual duty — not to vote or testify against each other.

4. Slaves — at first few; rapidly increase as a result of successful wars.

III. Assemblies.

1. Comitia curiata.
a. Composed of all citizens meeting under a consul or other high magistrate.
b. Voting by head within the curia, after which each of the 30 curiæ casts a single vote.
c. Controlled by the magistrate, the auspices, and the sanction of the senate (*patrum auctoritas*).
d. Its functions soon become purely formal.

2. Comitia centuriata.
a. Composed of all citizens meeting under presidency of a consul or other high magistrate.
b. Voting by head within the century, after which each of the 193 centuries casts a single vote. The knights and wealthiest class command a majority of votes.

c. Controlled by the president, the auspices, and (before 339 B.C.) the *patrum auctoritas.*

d. Chief assembly of the early republic — functions: —

(1) Legislation; election of consuls, censors, and prætors.

(2) Declaration of aggressive wars; ratification of treaties.

(3) Appeals from the decision of magistrates in capital cases.

3. Comitia tributa.

a. Organized in 471; composed of all landowners; probably after 339, of all plebeian landowners; after 312, of all plebeians.

b. Each tribe casts a vote; 21 tribes in 471; gradually increases to 35 (241). Under presidency of tribunes, it passes *plebi scita* (resolutions of the plebs), and elects plebeian officers; under the consul or prætor (after 449), it elects lower magistrates (V. 11), and rarely passes laws (*leges*).

c. Competence.

(1) Validity of resolutions.

(*a*) 471–449 — resolutions binding on the plebeians only.

(*b*) 449–287 — resolutions passed with the consent of the senate (*senatus consultum*), binding on all the citizens.

(*c*) After 287 — the *senatus consultum* unnecessary.

(2) Elects lower magistrates (V. 11).

(3) Receives appeals from the decision of magistrates in case of fines.

(4) After 287 the chief legislative assembly (*plebi scita*).

d. Controlled by presiding magistrates and (449–287) by the *senatus consultum.*

IV. Senate.

1. Composition and organization.

a. Members chosen by the consuls; after the Ovinian Law (339–312?) by the censors; exclusively patrician till about 400.

b. Under presidency of the consuls, who invite the members to speak in the order of their official rank: (1) *consulares* (ex-consuls); (2) *prætorii* (ex-prætors); (3) *ædilicii* (ex-ædiles). (4) The *pedarii* (who have filled no curule office) simply vote.

2. Functions.

a. As an independent body, —

(1) Filling the *interregnum.*

(2) Granting the *patrum auctoritas,* which becomes a mere form before the end of the period.

b. As a dependent (advisory) body, —

Issuing the *senatus consultum,* which constantly grows in importance till it becomes the chief instrument of the senate.

V. Magistrates.

1. Two consuls.
   a. Original functions.
      (1) Presidency of senate and assembles; initiative in legislation.
      (2) Judges.
      (3) Taking the census, before 443; choosing senators, before the Ovinian Law.
      (4) Command of the army.
      (5) General administration.
   b. Large authority gradually diminished by the creation of new offices.
2. Dictator — appointed by a consul to take absolute control in time of danger; term limited to six months; assisted by a master of horse (*magister equitum*).
3. Treasurers (*quæstores ærarii*) — at first assistants of the consuls; become independent magistrates about 449.
4. Tribunes of the plebs.
   a. Two instituted in 493; four after 471; later ten. Elected by the curiæ; after 471 by the tribes.
   b. Functions.
      (1) Protection of individual plebeians (*auxilium*).
      (2) Presidency of the plebeian assembly.
      (3) Power to fine, imprison, or put to death any one who interferes with them in the exercise of their duties.
   c. Assistants — the plebeian ædiles.
   d. At first of little importance, they gradually acquire a power superior in some respects to that of the consuls.
5. Decemvirs for codifying the laws — an extraordinary legislative board which takes the place of all other magistrates in 451–449.
6. Military tribunes with consular power, — more briefly, consular tribunes, 444–367.
   a. The number varies from three to six; elected instead of consuls whenever the senate so decrees.
   b. Functions — the same as those of the consuls; inferior in official rank.
7. Two censors.
   a. Instituted in 443; elected every five years as a rule; complete their work in eighteen months.
   b. Functions.
      (1) Census-taking; they assign every citizen to his tribe and class; after the Ovinian Law, they revise the senate list.
      (2) Building public works; letting out public contracts.
      (3) Censorship of morals.

8. Two military quæstors — instituted 421, to take charge of the military chest.
9. Prætor.
   a. Instituted 367.
   b. Functions.
      (1) Judge in private cases.
      (2) Head of the government during the absence of the consuls.
      (3) Rarely commander of an army.
10. Two curule ædiles.
   a. Instituted 367.
   b. Functions.
      (1) Supervision of streets, public buildings, markets, and games.
      (2) Power to fine for offences against order (police court).
11. Classification of magistrates.

curule magistrates	higher (*majores*)	dictator, consuls, censors, prætor	All but the dictator elected by the comitia centuriata; all but the censors have the *imperium*.
non-curule magistrates	lower (*minores*)	curule ædiles, quæstors, tribunes of the plebs, plebeian ædiles	Elected in the comitia tributa; they have not the *imperium*.

VI. Development of Plebeian Rights.

1. Condition, 509–493.
   a. *Constitutionally* they possess all the rights of citizenship except the right to hold offices and priesthoods and sit in the senate.
   b. *In fact* they are without the protection of the laws and are falling into serfdom.
2. 493–449 — the tribunes of the plebs try to secure to the plebeians the private rights granted them by the constitution.
   a. By protecting individual plebeians from oppression.
   b. By a more thorough organization of the plebs (comitia tributa, 471).
   c. By striving to provide the plebeians with lands.
   d. By the codification of the laws (accomplished, 451–449).
3. 449–367 — the tribunes, representing the wealthier plebeian families, strive for the right to hold magistracies; their means to this end are: —
   a. The Canuleian Law, 445, permitting intermarriage between the two ranks.
   b. The consular tribunate, 444–367, legally open to plebeians.

c. Opening the quæstorship to plebeians, 421; first plebeian quæstors, 409.
d. Admission of plebeians to the college of "Keepers of the Sibylline Books," 368.
e. The Licinian-Sextian Laws, which provide that one consul must be a plebeian.

4. 367–287.
a. The plebeians continue to gain admission to offices.
(1) Dictatorship, 356.
(2) Censorship, 351.
(3) Prætorship, 337.
(4) Curule ædileship, 304.
(5) College of augurs and of pontiffs, 300.
b. The assemblies become constitutionally independent of the senate.
(1) The comitia centuriata, through the Publilian Law, 339.
(2) The comitia tributa, through the Hortensian Law, 287.
c. Enrolment of the landless plebeians in the tribes, 312.
d. Result — *constitutionally* the government is a pure democracy; *in fact* the gradations of rank and privilege have multiplied during the period, — the state is more aristocratic than before: —

RANKS IN THE ROMAN-ITALIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM, 264.

1. Senators, among whom are several official ranks (IV. 1 *b.*).
2. Knights.
3. Members of the country tribes.
4. Members of the city tribes.
5. Citizens without the right to vote.
6. Latins.
7. Italian allies.
8. Gallic subjects.
9. Slaves.

Studies

CHAPTER I

1. Compare the migration of the Italians into Italy with the migration of the Greeks into Greece. How were the Greeks and Italians related? Compare their early life and institutions.
2. Compare the physical features of Italy with those of Greece (see maps). How far do the situation and physical features of these countries explain their different histories? Had the harbors and best lands of Italy been on the east coast, what difference would this have made in the history of the peninsula?
3. Write a paper on the "Etruscans"; on the "Greeks in Italy" (bibliography, p. 16).
4. Describe the Po valley; the character and customs of the Gauls (Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. i).
5. Make a topical outline of this chapter (see model outline, p. 353).

CHAPTER II

1. Carefully separate the history from the myths; give an account of the regal period without referring to the myths.
2. Show how the city on the Palatine developed from the tribal and village life described in Chapter I.
3. Trace on the map of Rome the growth of the city during the period of kings. Where were the various public works of this period?
4. Write a paper on the "Social Ranks."
5. Compare the earliest religious ideas of the Romans with those of Greece (Botsford, *Greece*, p. 15).
6. What class of people were most likely to be displeased with the rule of the kings? If a revolution should occur, what class would profit most by it?
7. Make a topical outline of this chapter.

CHAPTER III

1. From the story of the battle of Lake Regillus, what information may be derived regarding (1) the dictator, (2) the knights, (3) the mode of fighting?

2. From the map of the Vicinity of Rome, describe the growth of Rome's territory to the conquest of Veii; describe the location of all the races named on the map.
3. How does the story of the siege of Veii (Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. iii) illustrate the belief of the Romans in omens and oracles?
4. Trace the development of the Roman army from the tribal age to the end of the first period of the republic (264).
5. What wars of the period covered by this chapter belong to the conflict between the plain and the hills?
6. Write a paper on the "Samnites, their Country, Life, and Institutions."
7. Compare the colonies of Rome with those of Greece.
8. Describe the Roman organization of acquired territory.
9. Make a topical outline of this chapter.

CHAPTER IV

1. How did the change from monarchy to republic affect (1) the magistrates, (2) the senate, (3) the people?
2. Make a table of the assemblies, showing the composition, organization, and functions of each. Which was the most popular, and why?
3. Make a table of the magistrates, showing the date of institution and the functions of each.
4. Give an account of the relations between the patricians and plebeians during this period.
5. Write a paper on "Marcus Manlius"; on the "Decemvirs"; compare the myth of Appius Claudius (Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. iv) with the account given in this history.
6. Write a paper on the "Political Condition of Italy in 264" (cf. end of Ch. III); draw a map of Italy, distinguishing the various classes of communities.
7. What material do you find in Chapters III, IV, and the corresponding chapters of Botsford, *Story of Rome*, for a paper on the "Life and Character of the Romans" of this period?
8. Make a topical outline of this chapter.

CHAPTER V

1. Write a paper on the "Life and Institutions of the Carthaginians"; on the "Carthaginians in Sicily" (bibliography, p. 127).

2. Debate the question whether it was the duty of Rome to begin the First Punic War; also, whether her policy of acquiring territory outside of Italy was wise.
3. Write an account of the public career of Flaminius; of Scipio Africanus (bibliography, p. 127).
4. Give an account of Hannibal's crossing the Alps; of the battle of Lake Trasimene (Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. v).
5. Why did Hannibal fail to conquer Rome?
6. Why did Rome destroy Corinth and Carthage?
7. What provinces did Rome acquire during this period (264–133), and in what order? Were subject allies or provinces more serviceable to Rome?
8. Make a topical outline of this chapter.

CHAPTER VI

1. Why did not the Romans extend their federal policy to territory acquired outside of Italy? Were they wise in adopting the provincial system?
2. Write a paper on the "Administration of the Provinces" (see especially Arnold).
3. Compare the expansion of the Roman power with that of England and of the United States. What were the effects of the Roman conquests on the senate and people of Rome?
4. Write a paper on the "Life and Character of Cato" (bibliography, p. 150).
5. What was the condition of Italy and the provinces which at the close of this period called loudly for reform? What was the condition of the constitution and of the privileged classes at Rome which made reform practically impossible?
6. What privileges and what degree of political influence did each of the following classes enjoy toward the end of this period: nobles, knights, city plebs, country plebs, Latins, and Italians? In what way were the nobles and the city rabble attached to each other?
7. What effects had the custom of furnishing the populace with cheap or free grain (1) on those who received the favor, (2) on the Italian peasants?
8. What changes took place in the life and character of the Romans during this period (Chs. V, VI; Botsford, *Story of Rome*, chs. v, vi)?
9. Make a topical outline of this chapter.

CHAPTER VII

1. Give an account of the early life, the education, and the public career of Tiberius Gracchus (Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. vii).
2. Write a history of the Roman peasants (not of the whole plebeian body) from the earliest times to the death of Gaius Gracchus.
3. What prevented the Gracchi from adopting the methods of reform which Licinius and other tribunes of earlier time had pursued? Did circumstances justify the methods of the Gracchi?
4. Throughout the period treated by Chapters VII, VIII, the principles and institutions of the imperial government were developing. What did the Gracchi contribute to this development? What did Marius contribute?
5. Make a topical outline of the army organization from the earliest times to the completion of the reforms of Marius.
6. What constitutional law was violated by the frequent reëlection of Marius to the consulship?
7. What causes of discontent had been growing among the Italians from the time they fell under Roman rule to their revolt? Are there any reasons for believing that they would have founded a better state than Rome?
8. Why did Rome grow more and more illiberal in bestowing the citizenship on aliens?
9. After the Social War, how did the various classes of people in Italy — nobles, city plebs, peasants, etc. — entertain the idea of monarchy? Why should some support the existing government more than others?
10. What is your estimate of each of the measures of Sulla? What did he contribute to the imperial government (cf. 4)?
11. Write a history of the dictatorship to the death of Sulla.
12. Make a topical outline of this chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

1. In what respects may we regard Pompey as the successor of Sulla? Why did the Romans love Pompey (Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. viii)?
2. Write a paper on the "First Triumvirate" (bibliography, p. 202).
3. What provinces did Rome acquire in the period from 133 to 27 and in what order (map for Chs. VII–IX)?

4. Write a biography of Cicero? What is your estimate of his public character and policy? What light do the writings of Cicero throw on the government of the provinces (Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. viii)?
5. Why was the rule of one man, like Cæsar, less oppressive to the Roman world than the aristocracy had been?
6. Compare Cæsar and Gaius Gracchus as reformers. Why were both killed?
7. How far is Shakspere's Julius Cæsar historically true? Does it show a partisan bias? Write a review, or criticism, of Davis, *A Friend of Cæsar*.
8. Compare the First and Second Triumvirates.
9. Write a sketch of the literature of the republic.
10. Why did the republic fall?
11. Make a topical outline of this chapter.

CHAPTER IX

1. What provinces did Rome acquire during the reign of Augustus and in what order (map for Chs. VII–IX)?
2. In what respects was the imperial government an improvement on the republic? What class, or classes, lost by the fall of the republic? What classes gained?
3. Compare the government of Augustus with that of Cæsar.
4. Narrate the achievements of Augustus from his own account of them (Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. ix).
5. Write a paper on the "Literature of the Augustan Age"; on the "Pretorians" (bibliography, p. 223).
6. Compare the public works of Rome with those of Greece (cf. Ch. XV).
7. Make a topical outline of the development of the principles and institutions of the imperial government from the time of the Gracchi to the death of the Emperor Tiberius.
8. Write a paper on the "Character of Tiberius," drawing your material from his speeches and well-known public acts. Carefully exclude the imaginings of Tacitus and others in regard to this emperor's motives and secret deeds (Tacitus, Velleius Paterculus, and Suetonius).
9. What republican institutions survived under Augustus?
10. Make a topical outline of this chapter.

CHAPTER X

1. In what respects was the reign of Claudius an epoch in the history of the empire?
2. Give an account of the relations between the prince and the senate from the accession of Augustus to the death of Domitian. In what ways was the senate serviceable to the prince?
3. Write a review, or criticism, of Bulwer's *Last Days of Pompeii*.
4. What improvements came to the provinces under the Julian, Claudian, and Flavian emperors? Why did Tiberius and Domitian wish the provinces to be well governed? Why did the nobles generally dislike an emperor who protected the provinces?
5. Discuss Roman education and morals under the Julian, Claudian, and Flavian princes (cf. Ch. XV).
6. Compare Vespasian and Augustus.
7. Tell the story of the eruption of Vesuvius given in one of Pliny's *Letters* (Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. x).
8. Make a topical outline of this chapter.

CHAPTER XI

1. What were the causes of the good feeling and prosperity of this period (96–180)?
2. From Pliny's *Letters* (Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. xi), what do you learn of the condition and government of a province? How did Rome benefit the countries which she subdued? Were the advantages of Roman rule greater than the disadvantages?
3. What acquisitions of territory did Rome make between the death of Augustus and the death of Trajan (map for Chs. X–XII)? Which of these did she continue to hold long after Trajan? Why did not the emperors acquire more territory?
4. What countries were civilized before they came under Roman rule? What countries were barbarian? What kind of civilization did Rome give the conquered barbarians?
5. What changes took place in the imperial constitution between the accession of Augustus and the death of Marcus Aurelius?
6. Write a sketch of Christianity from its origin to the death of Marcus Aurelius.
7. If you had been a provincial, which would you have preferred, the republic or empire? If you had been a resident of Rome, which would you have preferred? Give your reasons.

8. To what extent did the condition of slaves improve under the empire (cf. Ch. XV)?
9. Make a topical outline of this chapter.

CHAPTER XII

1. What elements of weakness and decay existed in the empire before Commodus? What new causes of decline were added in the period treated in this chapter?
2. Give an account of the relations between the emperor and the senate from Augustus to Aurelian.
3. Trace the steps by which the provinces became Roman in language, civilization, and political rights. What were the influences of the provinces on Rome?
4. Write a paper on "Septimius Severus"; on "Palmyra" (bibliography, p. 288).
5. Compare the century of revolution between Marcus Aurelius and Diocletian with the century of revolution from republic to empire.
6. In what respects was the government of Diocletian an improvement on that of the Good Emperors? What can be said in justification of Diocletian's despotism?
7. Write a history of Christianity from the death of Marcus Aurelius to the death of Constantine.
8. Make a topical outline of this chapter.

CHAPTER XIII

1. Why did the Eastern branch of the empire continue so long after Constantine? Why did the Western branch fall so soon?
2. Write a paper on "Julian" (bibliography, p. 309).
3. Give an account of the relations between the Germans and Rome from the time of Marius to the breaking of the Danubian frontier by the Goths.
4. Compare the life and institutions of the early Germans with those of the early Greeks and Romans.
5. Why did the Greeks and Romans become civilized before the other European nations?
6. Describe the location of the various invading races of barbarians as they were about 476. What was the relation of their chiefs to Rome before this date?

7. Were there two empires from 395 to 476, or two branches of one empire?
8. What did the Germans give the empire and what did they receive from it?
9. Write a paper on the Huns (bibliography, p. 309).
10. Make a topical outline of this chapter.

CHAPTER XIV

1. How does this period differ from the preceding?
2. Compare Theodoric the Ostrogoth and Clovis.
3. How far did the reign of Justinian benefit Europe?
4. Write a paper on Mohammedan art and science (bibliography, p. 334).
5. To what extent did Roman civilization in Britain survive the Anglo-Saxon conquest? What ruins of Roman works may still be found in England?
6. Name in their order the great empires of the East contemporary with Rome. Review briefly the relations of each with Rome.
7. Write a summary of each of the great periods of Roman history (753–509, 509–264 B.C., etc.).
8. Make a topical outline of this chapter.

Events in Chronological Order

B.C.	
Remote past	**The Tribal Age** (before the founding of cities).
753(?)	**The Founding of Rome.**
753(?)–509	**The Regal Period — Prehistoric.**

REPUBLIC

509–264	*First Period of the Republic* — (a) *Rome becomes supreme in Italy.* (b) *The plebeians win their rights.*
509	**The first consuls.** First treaty between Rome and Carthage.
498	The first dictator.
496	Battle of Lake Regillus (mythical).
495	The twenty-first tribe formed.
494–493	First secession of the plebs.

B.C.	
493	**First plebeian tribunes.**
	Treaty with the Latins.
486	Treaty with the Hernicans.
	Agrarian bill of Spurius Cassius.
471	**The comitia tributa instituted.**
	The plebeian tribunes increased to four.
462	Proposal of Terentilius for the codification of the laws.
457	The plebeian tribunes increased to ten.
451–449	**The decemvirs.**
449	Second secession of the plebs.
	The Valerian-Horatian Laws.
445	The Canuleian Law.
444	**First consular tribunes.**
443	**First censors.**
431	Battle of Mt. Algidus.
421	**First military quæstors.**
409	Plebeians first elected to the quæstorship.
405(?)–396	Siege of Veii.
400	A plebeian first elected to the consular tribunate.
390	**Sack of Rome by the Gauls.**
387	The tribes increased to twenty-five.
367	**The Licinian-Sextian Laws.**
366	First plebeian consul.
	First prætor.
	First curule ædiles.
358	The tribes increased to twenty-seven.
356	First plebeian dictator.
354	Treaty with Samnium.
351	First plebeian censor.
348	Second treaty with Carthage.
343–341	**First Samnite War.**
340–338	**Latin War.**
339	The Publilian Laws.
337	First plebeian prætor.
332	The tribes increased to twenty-nine.
326–304	**Second Samnite War.**
321	Disaster at the Caudine Pass.
318	The tribes increased to thirty-one.
312–308	**Appius Claudius Cæcus censor.**
300	First plebeian augurs and pontiffs.
299	The tribes increased to thirty-three.

B.C.	
298–290	**Third Samnite War.**
295	Battle of Sentinum.
287	Third secession of the plebs.
	The Hortensian Law.
281–272	**War with Tarentum,** including the
280–275	War with Pyrrhus.
280	Battle of Heraclea.
279	Battle of Asculum.
275	Battle of Beneventum.
272	Surrender of Tarentum.
266	Conquest of the Gauls south of the Rubicon.
	Rome mistress of all Italy south of the Rubicon.
264–133	*Second Period of the Republic* —
	(a) *Expansion of the Roman power outside of Italy.*
	(b) *Growth of plutocracy.*
264–241	**First Punic War** — for the possession of Sicily.
260	Battle off Mylæ.
256	Great battle off Ecnomus; Regulus invades Africa.
249	Defeat of Claudius at Drepana.
247	Hamilcar Barca takes command.
241	Battle of the Ægatian Islands.
	Peace between Rome and Carthage.
	The tribes increased to thirty-five.
(?)	The comitia centuriata reformed.
241–238	Mercenary war in Africa.
237	Hamilcar goes to Spain.
232	Agrarian Law of Gaius Flaminius.
229-228	First Illyrian War.
227	The prætors increased to four.
225–222	**Gallic War.**
219	Second Illyrian War.
	Hannibal takes Saguntum.
218–201	**Second Punic War.**
218–213	The Scipios conquer Spain.
218	**Hannibal crosses the Alps; battle of the Ticinus and of the Trebia.**
217	**Battle of Lake Trasimene.**
216	**Battle of Cannæ.**
215–205	First Macedonian War.

B.C.	
215	Syracuse allies herself with Hannibal.
212	The Scipios beaten and killed in Spain.
	Syracuse taken by Marcellus.
211	Capua taken by the Romans.
211–206	Publius Cornelius Scipio (afterward Africanus) reconquers Spain.
207	**Battle of the Metaurus.**
202	**Battle of Zama.**
201	**Peace between Rome and Carthage.**
200–196	Second Macedonian War.
197	**Battle of Cynoscephalæ.**
	Two Spanish provinces organized; the prætors increased to six.
192–189	Asiatic War.
189	**Battle of Magnesia.**
171–167	Third Macedonian War.
168	**Battle of Pydna.**
149–146	Third Punic War.
146	**Publius Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus destroys Carthage.**
	Mummius destroys Corinth.
	Macedonia and Africa become Roman provinces.
143–133	War with Numantia.
138(?)–132	First Slave War in Sicily.
133–27	*Third Period of the Republic — the revolution from republic to empire.*
133–79	*First epoch of the revolution — from plutocracy to militarism.*
133	**Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus tribune of the plebs.**
	Numantia destroyed.
	The province of Asia organized.
123–122	**Gaius Sempronius Gracchus tribune of the plebs.**
119	Gaius Marius tribune of the plebs.
113–105	The Cimbri and Teutons invade Gaul.
112–106	**The Jugurthine War.**
102	Marius defeats the Teutons at Aquæ Sextiæ.
101	Marius and Catulus defeat the Cimbri at Vercellæ.
100	**Saturninus tribune of the plebs ; Glaucia prætor.**
91–88	**The Social War.**

B.C.	
88	Sulpicius tribune of the plebs.
88–84	First War with Mithridates.
87–84	Cinna leader of the popular party at Rome.
83–81	Second War with Mithridates.
83–82	**Civil war between Sulla and the popular party.**
82	Sulla's proscriptions.
82–79	**Sulla dictator.**
79–27	*Second epoch of the revolution — the military power in conflict with the republic.*
76	Pompey goes to Spain.
74–63	Third War with Mithridates.
73–71	War with Spartacus.
72	Sertorius murdered.
70	**Pompey and Crassus consuls; Sulla's constitution overthrown.**
67	**The Gabinian Law.**
66	**The Manilian Law.**
63	**Cicero consul; conspiracy of Catiline.**
60–53	**The First Triumvirate.**
58–50	**Conquest of Gaul.**
56	Conference at Luca; triumvirate renewed.
53	Battle of Carrhæ.
49–45	**Civil war between Cæsar and the republic.**
48	**Battle of Pharsalus.**
47	**Cæsar in Egypt; battle of Zela.**
46	**Battle of Thapsus.**
45	**Battle of Munda; Cæsar supreme.**
44	**Cæsar murdered.**
44–31	Civil Wars.
43–27	**Second Triumvirate**; in 36 Lepidus drops from the board; after 31 Octavianus is sole triumvir.
42	Battles of Philippi.
31	**Battle of Actium; Octavianus supreme.**

EMPIRE

27 B.C.–*41* A.D.	*Dyarchy; the Julian emperors.*
27 B.C.	Octavianus receives the title Augustus.
27 B.C.–14 A.D.	**Augustus emperor.**
12–9 B.C.	Campaigns of Drusus in Germany.

A.D.	
9	Overthrow of Varus by the Germans.
14–37	**Tiberius emperor.**
15–16	Campaigns of Germanicus in Germany.
26	Tiberius retires to Capri.
37–41	**Gaius Cæsar Caligula emperor.**
41–96	*From Dyarchy to Monarchy; the Claudian and Flavian emperors.*
41–54	**Claudius emperor.**
43	Conquest of Britain begun.
54–68	**Nero emperor.**
68–69	Military revolution; three emperors — Galba, Otho, and Vitellius — in rapid succession.
69–79	**Vespasian emperor.**
70	Jerusalem taken and destroyed by Titus.
79–81	**Titus emperor.**
79	Pompeii and Herculaneum destroyed by an eruption of Vesuvius.
81–96	**Domitian emperor.**
85	Conquest of Britain completed by Agricola.
96–180	*Limited Monarchy; the five "Good Emperors."*
96–98	**Nerva emperor.**
98–117	**Trajan emperor.**
101–106	Conquest of Dacia.
115–117	Trajan's campaigns in the East.
117–138	**Hadrian emperor.**
138–161	**Antoninus Pius emperor.**
161–180	**Marcus Aurelius Antoninus emperor.**
167–175	First War with the Marcomanni.
178–180	Second War with the Marcomanni.
180–337	*Growth of absolute monarchy; from Commodus to Constantine.*
180–192	Commodus emperor.
193	Pertinax emperor; Julianus emperor.
193–211	**Septimius Severus emperor.**
211–217	**Caracalla emperor.**
	All freemen in the empire become Roman citizens.

A.D.	
217–218	Macrinus emperor.
218–222	Elagabalus emperor.
222–235	**Alexander Severus emperor.**
226	**The new Persian empire founded.**
235–238	Maximinus emperor.
238–243	Gordian emperor.
241–243	Philip colleague of Gordian.
244–249	Philip sole emperor.
249–251	Decius emperor.
251–253	Gallus emperor; kills his colleague Hostilianus.
253	Æmilianus emperor; deposed by Valerian, who takes his son Gallienus as colleague.
260	Valerian taken captive by Sapor, king of Persia.
	The so-called Thirty Tyrants.
268–270	Claudius emperor.
270–275	**Aurelian emperor.**
272	Zenobia conquered.
275–276	Tacitus emperor.
276–282	Probus emperor.
282–284	Carus emperor.
284–305	**Diocletian emperor.**
	Reorganization of the empire.
285–305	Maximian colleague of Diocletian.
305–306	Constantius and Galerius emperors.
306	Severus succeeds Constantius as colleague of Galerius; the latter continues to reign till his death, 311.
306–324	A succession of civil wars, which end in making Constantine the Great sole emperor.
313	**Edict of Milan granting the Christians toleration.**
324–337	**Constantine sole emperor.**
	Further reorganization of the empire.
325	**The council at Nicæa.**
337–476	*The invasions of the barbarians; the dissolution of the empire in the West.*
337	Constantine, Constantius, and Constans succeed their father Constantine the Great.
355	Julian colleague of Constantius.
357	Julian defeats the Alemanni.

A.D.	
361–363	**Julian sole emperor.**
363–364	Jovian emperor.
364–375	Valentinian emperor in the West.
364–378	His brother Valens emperor in the East.
375	Valentinian II and Gratian emperors in the West.
376	**The Visigoths cross the Danube.**
378	**Defeat and death of Valens at Hadrianople.**
379	Theodosius emperor in the East.
383	Maximus colleague of Valentinian II.
394–395	**Theodosius sole emperor.**
395	**Death of Theodosius; division of the empire between his sons, Arcadius and Honorius; Arcadius emperor in the East and Honorius in the West.**
402	Alaric invades Italy; battle of Pollentia.
406	Vandals, Sueves, and others invade Gaul.
408	Theodosius II emperor in the East.
408–410	**Alaric besieges and plunders Rome.**
410	**The Vandals and Sueves settle in Spain.**
414	Ataulf marries Placidia.
418	**The Visigoths settle in Gaul.**
425	Valentinian III emperor in the West.
429	**The Vandals invade Africa.**
449	**The Saxons under Hengist and Horsa invade Britain.**
450	Marcian emperor in the East.
451	**Attila the Hun invades Gaul; battle of Châlons.**
455	Maximus emperor in the West.
	Avitus emperor in the West.
456	Patrician Ricimer overthrows Avitus and makes Marjorian emperor.
	Leo I emperor in the East.
461	Ricimer makes Severus emperor in the West.
467	Ricimer makes Anthemius emperor.
472	Ricimer makes Olybrius emperor; Ricimer and Olybrius die.
473	Glycerius emperor in the West.
474	Leo II, then Zeno, emperor in the East.
	Julius Nepos emperor in the West.
475	Romulus "Augustulus" emperor in the West.
476	**Romulus "Augustulus" deposed; reunion of the East and West; Odoacer patrician and king of Italy.**

A.D.	
476–800	*The new German nations to the founding of the empire of Charlemagne.*
477	Death of Gaiseric.
486	Clovis conquers the Romans at Soissons.
489–493	Theodoric conquers Odoacer.
491	Anastasius I emperor.
493–553	**Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy.**
496	**Clovis accepts Christianity.**
511	Death of Clovis.
518	Justin I emperor.
526	Death of Theodoric the Ostrogoth.
527–565	**Justinian I emperor.**
533–534	Belisarius conquers the Vandals.
535–540	Belisarius conquers Italy.
541–553	Revolt and subjugation of the Ostrogoths.
565–578	Justin II emperor.
568	**The Lombards invade Italy.**
582	Maurice emperor.
590	Gregory the Great becomes pope.
602	Phocas emperor.
610–641	**Heraclius emperor.**
622	**Mohammed flees from Mecca to Medina (the Hegira).**
628–638	Dagobert king of the Franks.
711	**The Mohammedans invade Spain.**
717	Leo III (the Isaurian) emperor.
732	**Battle of Poitiers (Tours).**
751	**Pippin king of the Franks.**
768	**Charles and Carloman succeed their father, Pippin.**
771	**Charles the Great sole king of the Franks.**
780	Constantine VI emperor; Irene regent.
797–802	Irene empress.
800	**Charles the Great crowned emperor in the West.**

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[1] For the value of the principal works, see Adams, *Manual of Historical Literature* (Harpers).

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INDEX

Aa'chen, 330.
Ac'ti-um, battle of, 198.
Ad-her'bal, 100, 101.
Æ-bu'ti-us, 38, 39.
Æ'diles, plebeian, 74; curule, 86, 139.
Æ-ga'ti-an Islands, battle of the, 102.
Æ-mil'i-us (father), 110; (son), 121, 147.
Æ-ne'as, 17.
Æ-ne'id, 215.
Æ'qui-ans, 40, 42.
Æs-cu-la'pi-us, 92, 226, 342.
Æ'sis River, 64.
A-e'ti-us, 303, 306.
Af'ri-ca, province of, 126, 130.
A-gath'o-cles, 97.
Agrarian law of Spurius Cassius, 75; of Licinius and Sextius, 84–86; of Tiberius Gracchus, 152.
A-gric'o-la, 238.
Ag-ri-gen'tum, 99.
A-grip'pa, 198, 213, 216.
A-grip-pi'na, 227.
A-ha'la, Ser-vil'i-us, 82.
A'lans, 302.
Al'a-ric, 298–301.
Al'ba Lon'ga, 6, 18, 20.
Alban Lake, 6, 43.
Alban Mount, 6.
Al-bi'nus, 269.
Al'boin, 319.
Al-e-man'ni, 274, 290.
Al-ex-an'der, king of the Molossians, 53; the Great, 57, 116; Severus, 271–273.
Al-ex-an'dri-a, 189.
Al'gi-dus Mount, 41; battle of, 42.
Al'li-a River, battle of the, 43.
Allies, Latin and Italian, 63; naval, 55, 63.
Alps as a defence, 2; Hannibal crossing, 105.
Amphitheatre, 235, 268, 347.
A-mu'li-us, 18.
Amusements, 345–348.
An-chi'ses, 17.
An'cus Mar'ti-us, 20, 29.
An'gles, 311; in Britain, 321.
An'i-o River, 7, 73.
Annals, early, 147, 200; of Tacitus, 256.
An'ni-us, 52.
An'ti-as, Va-le'ri-us, 200.
An-ti'o-chus III, 116, 118.
An'ti-um, 42, 48.
An-to-ni'nus, Mar'cus Au-re'li-us, 254–256, 264; Pius, 254.
An'to-ny, Mark, 188, 195–198.
Ap'en-nines Mountains, 14.
Aph-ro-di'te, 92.
A-pol'lo, 12, 13, 31, 92.
Ap-ol-lo'ni-a, 196.
Ap'pi-an, 260.
Appian Way, 57, 90.
Ap'pi-us Clau'di-us, see Claudius.
A-pu'li-a, 55, 59.
Aq'uæ Sex'ti-æ, battle of, 162.
Aqueducts, Appian, 90; Claudian, 227; destruction of, 315.
Aq-ui-lei'a, 308.
A-ra'bi-a, 246; converted to Mohammedanism, 326.
Ar-ca'di-us, 291.
Ar-chi-da'mus, 52, 53.
Ar-chi-me'des, 112.
Architecture, 148, 348; Augustan, 211–214; decline, 284.
A'ri-ans, 283, 291, 312, 324.
A-rim'i-num, 108.
A-ri-o-vis'tus, 184.
Aristocracy, aristocrats, see Nobles.
A-ri'us, or A'ri-us, 283.

Ar-me'ni-a, 205; a province, 247.
Ar-min'i-us, 208.
Armor of the cavalry, 39, 47; of the manipular legion, 46.
Army, primitive, 33; of Servius, 33, 71; reorganized by Camillus, 45–48; by Marius, 162; by Hadrian; 251; Carthaginian, 97; in politics, 168, 178; under empire, 219, 233, 276–278.
Ar'nus River, 109.
Ar-pi'num, 160, 180.
Ar-re'ti-um, 108, 109.
Ar'ri-an, 260.
Ar-sa'ci-dæ, 271.
Art, lack of early, 91, 148; Augustan, 211–214; character of Roman, 348.
Ar-tax-erx'es, 272.
A'ry-ans, 2, 293.
As-ca'ni-us, 18.
As'cu-lum, battle of, 62.
A'si-a, province of, 127, 130; taxation of, 157.
Asia Minor, 116, 119; under Rome's protection, 120.
Assemblies, see Comitia.
Assembly-place, see Comitium.
A'taulf, 292, 302.
Ath-a-na'si-us, 283.
Ath'ens, 76, 252.
At'ri-um, 340.
At'ti-la, 306–308.
Au'fi-dus River, 110.
Augurs, auspices, 29, 71, 80, 88.
Au-gus'tine, St., 300.
Au-gus'tus, Oc-ta'vi-us, Oc-ta-vi-a'-nus, adopted by Cæsar, 192, 196; at Apollonia, 196; a triumvir, 197; war with Antony, 198; made Augustus by the senate, 199; reign of, 204–218; frontiers, 205–208; provinces, 208–210; constitution, 210; public works, 211–215; literature, 215; succession, 217; death and character, 218.
Au-re'li-an, 274.
Aus-tra'si-a, 325.
Av'en-tine Mount, 33, 36.

Bab-y-lo'ni-a, 15.
Bac'chus, 148.
Barbarians of the hills, 40; invasions, 274, 287, 289–310.
Bar'ca, Ha-mil'car, 101–104.
Ba-sil'i-ca Por'ci-a, 148; Julia, 211; or Constantine, 284.
Basques, 329.
Bas-si-a'nus, "El-a-gab'a-lus," 270.
Battle of, Lake Regillus, 38; Mt. Algidus, 42; the Allia, 43; the Caudine Pass, 55; Sentinum, 60; Heraclea, 61; Asculum, 62; Beneventum, 62; Mylæ, 99; Ecnomus, 100; Ægatian Islands, 102; the Ticinus, 107; the Trebia, 107; Lake Trasimene, 109; Cannæ, 110; the Metaurus, 114; Zama, 114; Cynoscephalæ, 117; Pydna, 121; Aquæ Sextiæ, 162; Vercellæ, 162; Pharsalus, 188; Thapsus, 189; Munda, 189; Philippi, 197; Actium, 198; Teutoberg Forest, 208; Strassburg, 290; Pollentia, 299; Verona, 299; Châlons, 307; Poitiers, 326.
Bel'gi-ans, 185.
Bel-i-sa'ri-us, 315.
Ben-e-ven'tum, battle of, 62.
Bibliography, general, 374–381; special, see end of each chapter.
Bi-thyn'i-a, 116, 122, 179, 258.
Blan-di'na, 265.
Bo-e'thi-us, 314.
Bon'i-face, Count, governor of Africa, 303.
Books, 201.
Bren'nus, 43.
Brit'ain, 186; Roman conquest, 226, 238; Anglo-Saxon conquest, 321.
Brotherhood, see Curia.
Brut'ti-ans, 53, 133.
Bru'tus, Lu'ci-us Ju'ni-us, 37; Marcus, 195, 197.
Bur-gun'di-ans, Bur'gun-dy, 306, 311, 325.
Bur'rus, 228, 230.
Bu-sen'to River, 301.
By-zan'ti-um, see Constantinople.

Cæ'li-an Mount *or* Hill, 20, 33.
Cæ're, 43, 48, 62.
Cæ'sar, a title of the emperor, 223;

of the heir to the imperial office, 278.
Cæ'sar, Ga'i-us, grandson of Augustus, 217; Gaius Cæsar Caligula, 222; Gaius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, see Augustus; Lucius, grandson of Augustus, 217; Lucius Julius, 166; Gaius Julius, the dictator, 182–195; his conquest of Gaul, 184–186; his war against the republic, 187–189; in Egypt, 189; his character, 190; his government, 191–194; his death, 195.
Cal-e-do'ni-a, 238, 269.
Calendar, 77; Cæsar's, 194.
Ca-lig'u-la, Gaius Cæsar, 222.
Ca-mil'lus, 42; his military reform, 45–48.
Cam-pa'ni-a, Etruscans in, 9, 36; fertility, 15, 49; under Rome, 50, 51; in Second Samnite War, 54, 55; mercenaries of, 98; Vesuvius, 237.
Cam'pus Mar'ti-us, place of assembly, 70, 155; buildings in, 213, 214.
Can'næ, battle of, 110, 133, 135.
Can-u-lei'us, Law of, 80.
Capitol (Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter), 31, 32, 41, 52, 143, 211, 234.
Cap'i-to-line Mount, 21, 31, 32, 33, 41, 44.
Cap-pa-do'ci-a, 205.
Cap'ri, Cap're-æ, 221.
Cap'u-a, 49–51, 134; ally of Hannibal, 111, 113.
Car-a-cal'la, 270.
Car'bo, 171.
Car-o-lin'gi-ans, 325–332.
Car-pa'thi-an Mountains, 245.
Car'thage, relations with Latium, 36; treaties with Rome, 39, 51, 96, 103, 115; and Pyrrhus, 62; compared with Rome, 97; wars with Rome, 98–103, 105–115, 123–126; Mercenary War, 103; acquires a province in Spain, 104; a Roman colony, 158, 193; under Gaiseric, 304, 306.
Car-vil'i-us, Spu'ri-us, 135.
Cas'si-us, A-vid'i-us, 255; Gaius (the conspirator against Cæsar), 194, 197; Quintus, 188; Spurius, 40, 74.
Cas'tor and Pol'lux, Temple of, 39, 211.
Cat'i-line, 180–182.
Ca'to, the Elder (Censor), urges the destruction of Carthage, 123; public career, 143–146; historian and orator, 147; his basilica, 148; the Younger, 189.
Cat'u-lus, Ga'i-us Lu-ta'ti-us, 102, 103; Quintus (colleague of Marius), 162.
Ca-tul'lus, 201.
Cau'dine Pass *or* Forks, 55.
Cavalry, see Knights.
Celts, 59, 293; see Gauls.
Cen'sors, Censorship, 81, 136, 137, 138, 177, 227, 238, 248.
Census, 34; see word above.
Centuries in the army, 34, 69; in the assembly, see Comitia Centuriata.
Cen-tu'ri-on, 51.
Ce'res, 74.
Char-le-magne', Charles the Great, 328–332.
Charles Mar-tel', 325–327.
Children, 337.
Chlo'rus, Con-stan'ti-us, 279, 281.
Christians, Christianity, birth of Christ, 215; under Nero, 231; under the Good Emperors, 262–265; Church organization, 281; under Constantine, 281–283, 285; under Theodosius, 291; under the Carolingians, 327, 330, 331; conversion of the barbarians, 296, 303, 311, 313, 322, 324.
Chronology, see Events.
Chry-sos'tom, John, 291, n. 1.
Cic'e-ro, public career, 180–184, 195, 197; writings, 201.
Ci-li'ci-a, a province, 178.
Cim'bri and Teu'tons, 162.
Ci-min'i-an Forest, 50, 58.
Ciminian Hills, 43.
Cin-cin-na'tus, 41.
Cin'e-as, 61.
Cin'na, 168, 171.
Cir'cus Max'i-mus, 33, 346.

Cis-al'pine Gaul, 40, 105, 108, 126, 140, 184, 258.
Citizenship, granted freely to aliens, 20, 21, 35, 36, 48, 129; later less freely, 135; without right to vote, 48, 63; granted to Latin towns, 53; to Italians, 155, 157, 158, 165, 167; to provincials, 193, 209, 226, 259, 270; grades of, 48, 63, 129.
City-state, 6, 8, 129.
Ci-vi'lis, 233.
Civilization, Etruscan, 9; against barbarism, 40, 55; Græco-Roman, 258–262.
Civil service, 252.
Clau'di-us, Ap'pi-us Claudius, the Decemvir, 76–79; Appius Claudius Cæcus, 57, 61, 90; Appius Claudius Caudex, 98; Publius Claudius, 101; Gaius Claudius Nero, 114; Quintus Claudius, 141; Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero, emperor after Caligula, 225–227; Marcus Aurelius Claudius, emperor in third century 274.
Cle-o-pa'tra, 189, 198.
Clients, 24, 39, 72, 75, 149, 344.
Clo-a'ca Max'i-ma, 32.
Clo'di-us, 184.
Clo-til'da, 324.
Clo'vis, 323.
Clyde, Frith of, 238.
Coinage, 77, 83, 90.
Col'line Gate, battle of the, 171.
Co-lo'ni, 262, 286.
Colonies, 61, 142, 157; Latin, 48, 59, 63; Roman, 48, 63.
Colonization, Sabellian, 3; Greek, 11–13; Phœnician, 95: under Cæsar, 193; under Augustus, 211.
Col-os-se'um, 235, 347.
Com-i'ti-a (assembly), primitive, 3; importance of the Roman, 71; under Cæsar, 192; under Tiberius, 221; Curiata, 25, 71; Centuriata, 69–71, 81, 88, 136, 140, 173; Tributa, 75, 79, 88, 135, 173.
Com-i'ti-um (assembly-place), 25, 32.
Com'men-ta-ries of Cæsar, 191, 200.
Com'mo-dus, 267.
Commons, see Plebeians.
Con-cor'di-a, Temple of, 87.
Con'stans, 290.
Con'stan-tine the Great, 281–285; Constantine, his son, 289, 290.
Con-stan-ti-no'ple (By-zan'ti-um), 283, 285, 317, 332–334.
Con-stan'ti-us, 290.
Constitution, primitive Italian, 3; Roman under the kings, 24–27; early republican, 66–71; development before the Punic Wars, 72–94; during the Punic Wars, 135–140; under Sulla, 172–174; under Cæsar, 191; early imperial, 209–211; under Diocletian and Constantine, 278–280, 285.
Con'su-lar trib'unes, 80–82, 86.
Con'suls, instituted, 37, 66; early functions, 66–68; in time of Punic Wars, 136; limited to Italy, 173; under Augustus, 211; under Trajan, 247.
Co-per'ni-cus, 260.
Cor-fin'i-um, 166.
Cor'inth, destruction of, 123; a Roman colony, 193.
Cor-ne'li-a, 152.
Cor'si-ca, 9; with Sardinia, a province, 104, 130.
Cor'vus, Mar'cus Va-le'ri-us, 52.
Council of Elders, see Senate.
Court for trial of extortion, 132; courts under Sulla, 173; the senate a court under the empire, 220; see Juries.
Cras'sus, Mar'cus Li-cin'i-us, 177, 183, 184, 187.
Ctes'i-phon, 247.
Cu'mæ, 11–13, 31, 40, 49.
Cu-ra'tor Re'i Pub'li-cæ, 248.
Cu'ri-a, 24; see Comitia Curiata.
Cur'sor, Lu'ci-us Pa-pir'i-us, 56, 58.
Cu'rule chair, 26, 67; offices, 67, 81, 88; ex-magistrates, 138.
Cyb'e-le, 148.
Cy'clops, 28.
Cyn-os-ceph'a-læ, battle of, 117.

Da'ci-a, a province, 245.
Dacians, war with the, 238.
Dag'o-bert, 325.

Dan'ube River, 162, 206, 238, 274, 297.
De-cem'virs, 76–79.
De'ci-us, consul, 60; emperor, 274.
Delations, 221.
De-me'ter, 74.
Den-ta'tus, Man'i-us, Cu'ri-us, 60, 62, 92, 144.
Di-a'na, 36.
Dic-ta'tor, 38, 41, 42, 52, 56, 58, 109; instituted, 68; disused, 110, 158; revived by Sulla, 172; held by Cæsar, 191.
Di'o-ces-es, 279.
Di-o-cle'ti-an, 211, 276, 278–280.
Di-o-nys'i-us I of Syracuse, 97.
Di-o-ny'sus, Bac'chus, 148.
Do-mi'ti-a, 239.
Do-mi'ti-an, 237–239, 242, 244.
Drep'a-na, 100; battle of, 101.
Dru'sus, son of Livia, 206; Marcus Livius, 165.
Du-il'i-us, Ga'i-us, 99.
Dy'arch-y, 179, 204–224; to monarchy, 225–242.

East (Orient), 54, 65, 233, 271, 274; condition of in 200 B.C., 116; Pompey in the, 179; for Eastern division of the empire, see Empire.
Ec'no-mus, battle of, 100.
Economic development of the early republic, 90; decay of provinces, 131; of Italy, 134; of the empire, 285.
Education, 93, 235, 336.
E-ge'ri-a, 28.
Eg-na'ti-us, 59.
E'gypt, alliance with Rome, 65, 116; Cæsar in, 189; Antony in, 198; under a prefect, 205.
El-a-gab'a-lus, 270.
Elephants in war, 61, 100.
Emperors, Julian, 204–224; Claudian, 225–231; Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, 231–233; Flavian, 232–242; Good, 243–266; from Commodus to Constantine, 267–281; from Constantine to 476 A.D., 289–293; from 476 to 800 A.D., 311–334.
Empire, founding, 204–211; constitution, 209–211; dyarchy, 204–224; from dyarchy to monarchy, 225–242; limited monarchy, 243–266; growth of absolute monarchy, 267–288; from Constantine to the dissolution of the West, 289–310; division into East and West, 189, 258–261, 274, 278–281, 284, 291; East, 283, 291, 298, 315–319, 326, 331–334; West, 290, 293, 303, 306, 308, 309, 311, 330.
En'ni-us, 146.
E-pi'rus, 53, 61, 121.
Erc'te Mount, 101.
E'ryx Mount, 102.
Es'qui-line Mount *or* Hill, 33.
E-thi-o'pi-a, 205.
E-tru'ri-a, resources of, 8, 15, 21; relations with Rome, 43, 49, 58, 59, 60.
Etruscans, civilization, 4, 8–10, 36; territory, 9; political condition, 9, 42; relations with Rome, 20, 21, 32, 40, 58.
Eu-dox'i-a, 305.
Eu-phra'tes River, 179, 247, 271.
Events in chronological order, 366–374.
Ex'arch of Ravenna, 316, 320; of Africa, 332.

Fa'bi-us, master of horse of Papirius, consul, and censor, 56, 57, 58, 90; the "Cunctator," 109, 113; Pictor, 146.
Family, 22–24, 335–338.
Faus-ti'na, 254.
Faus-tin-i-a'næ, 254.
Flac'cus, Ful'vi-us, 155.
Fla'men, priest, 29, 68.
Fla-min'i-an Way, 141, 212.
Fla-min'i-us Ga'i-us, 108, 140.
Flam-i-ni'nus, 117, 118.
For'mi-æ, 62.
Forth, Frith of, 238.
Fo'rum, Roman, 19, 32; Julian, 211; Augustan, 212; Trajan's, 245.
Franks, 290, 306, 311, 322–331.
Freedmen, 344.
Fre-gel'læ, 54.
Funeral, 348.

Ga-bin'i-us, Law of, 178.
Gai'ser-ic, Gen'ser-ic, 303-306.
Ga'i-us Cæ'sar, grandson of Augustus, 217; Gaius Cæsar Caligula, 222.
Gal'ba, 231.
Ga'len, 260.
Ga-le'ri-us, 278, 281.
Gal'la Pla-cid'i-a, 292, 303.
Gauls, 40, 43, 48, 60, 65; in Rome, 43–45; treaty with Rome, 53; migration of, 59; join Hannibal, 108; conquest of Cisalpine Gaul, 105, 126, 140; Transalpine Gaul, 184–186; adopt Roman civilization, 186, 258.
Ge-nu'ci-us, Law of, 88.
Geor'gics, 216.
Ger-man'i-cus, 208, 220.
Germans, defeated by Marius, 162; by Cæsar, 185; subdued by Drusus and Tiberius, 206–208; wars with Marcus Aurelius, 255, 262; invasions, 289–310; described by Tacitus, 294–296; new German states, 311–331.
Gi-bral'tar, Strait of, 326.
Glad'i-a-tors, 179, 235, 287, 346.
Glau'ci-a, 163.
Gods, 28, 91.
Goths, 274, 291, 296; Visigoths, 297–302; Ostrogoths, 297, 298, 312–316.
Government, see Constitution.
Governor, provincial, 130, 132; under Cæsar, 193; under Claudius, 226; under Domitian, 238.
Grac'chi, character of, 151, 159, 160, 164; Tiberius, 152–154; Gaius, 155–159.
Græco-Roman world, 260–262.
Greece, conquest by Rome, 116–123; revolts to Mithridates, 170.
Greeks, colonies in Italy, 11–13; influence upon Rome, 17–19, 33, 36, 47, 51, 74, 76, 83, 91, 146, 152, 199, 260, 336; political relations with Rome, 61, 111, 116–123, 170; influence in the East, 179, 180, 259; literature, 260.
Greg'o-ry the Great, 321.
Ha'dri-an, 250–254.
Ha-dri-a-no'ple, 298.
Ha-mil'car Bar'ca, 101–104.
Han'ni-bal, as a boy, 104; made commander, 105; crosses the Alps, 105; invades Italy, 107; in the marshes, 109; at Cannæ, 110; marches upon Rome, 112; quits Italy, 114; defeated at Zama, 115; at the court of Antiochus III, 118; death, 120.
Has'dru-bal, son-in-law of Hamilcar, 104; brother of Hannibal, 113.
Hel'las, see Greece, Greeks.
Helps to the study of Roman history, 353–381.
Hel-ve'ti-ans, 185.
Hept'arch-y, 322.
Her-a-cle'a, battle of, 61.
Her-cu-la'ne-um, 237.
Her-min'i-us, 39.
Her'ni-cans, 40, 48.
Hi'e-ro, the victor at Cumæ, 474 B.C., 40; an ally of Rome in the First Punic War, 98.
Hir'ti-us, 196.
History, historical literature, beginnings of, 146; late republican, 200; early imperial, 240; under the Good Emperors, 256, 260.
Ho-no'ri-us, 291, 299.
Hor'ace, 216.
Ho-ra'ti-us, consul, 79.
Hor-ten'si-us, Law of, 88, 135, 174.
House, 21, 148, 339–341.
Huns, 297, 306–308.

I-az'y-ges, 255.
I-be'ri-ans, 110.
Il-lyr'i-ans, Il-lyr'i-cum, 121, 127, n. 1, 184.
Im-per-a'tor, 192.
In'di-a, 205, 247.
In-ter-reg'num, In'ter-rex, 26.
I-tal'ians, 1–8, 11, 54, 63; fall under Roman rule, 49–61; organization under Rome, 62–65, 129, 133; desire representation, 135, 165; win the citizenship, 155, 157, 165, 166, 169.
I-tal'i-ca, 166.

It'a-ly, 2, 9, 11, 17, 19, 33, 40, 50, 52, 55, 59, 252; falls under Roman rule, 49–61; Pyrrhus in, 61; organization under Rome, 62–65, 129, 133; under Cæsar, 193; under Trajan, 248; under Diocletian, 280; under Odoacer, 293, 309; conquered by Ostrogoths, 312–315; by Belisarius, 315; by Lombards, 319–321.

Ja-nic'u-lum Mount, 20, 29.
Ja'nus, 28, 239.
Je-ru'sa-lem, 180; destroyed, 233.
Jews, 226; war with Rome, 233.
John of Cap-pa-do'ci-a, 319.
Ju-de'a, conquered by Pompey, 179; under a procurator, 205; revolt of, 233; birthplace of Christianity, 262.
Ju-gur'tha, 161.
Ju'li-a, wife of Marius, 161; daughter of Augustus, 216, 218.
Julian Emperors, 204–224.
Ju'li-an, the "Apostate," 290.
Ju-li-a'nus, Did'i-us, 268; Salvius, 258.
Ju'no, 17, 24, 28, 43, 44, 108.
Ju'pi-ter, 18, 25, 28, 29, 80, 285; Temple of, 31, 32, 51, 52, 143, 234.
Juries, judges, in regal period, 26, 27; early republican, 68; composed of knights, 156, 165; restored to the senators, 173; later arrangement, 177.
Ju-ris-pru'dence, 258, 269, 318.
Jurists, Salvius Julianus, 258; Papinian, 269; Ulpian, 270, 271; Tribonian, 318.
Jus'tin, 315.
Jus-tin'i-an, 315–319.
Jutes, 321.
Ju've-nal, 257.

Kings, period of, 17–37; powers and functions, 26; German, 293.
Knights, primitive, 24; arms, 39, 46; in the comitia centuriata, 70, 140; capitalists, 132, 140; separation from senators, 141, 156; in the imperial service, 227, 235, 252; disused as cavalry, 163.
Ko'ran, 325.

Lac-e-dæ'mon, 52.
Land, public, 84, 86, 152.
La-nu'vi-um, 108.
La'res, 22.
Latin colony, 48.
Latin League, 6, 38, 40; dissolved, 53.
Lat'ins, 4, 6–8, 17; allies of Rome, 29, 36, 40, 48; demand representation, 52; their league dissolved, 53; organization under Rome, 53, 63.
La'ti-um, 4, 6–8; see word above.
Lau-ren'tum, 53.
La-vin'i-a, 17.
La-vin'i-um, 17.
Law, codification by the decemvirs, 76–79; by Justinian, 317; Civil, 258, 318.
Law of Spurius Cassius, 75; of Publilius Volero, 75; laws of the Twelve Tables, 76–79; of Valerius and Horatius, 79; law of Canuleius, 80; laws of Licinius and Sextius, 86; law of Genucius, 88; of Publilius Philo, 88; of Hortensius, 88, 135, 174; of Flaminius, 140; of Tiberius Gracchus, 152; laws of Gaius Gracchus, 156–159; law of Varius, 166; of Gabinius, 178; of Manilius, 179; municipal law of Cæsar, 194.
League, Latin, see Latins; Ætolian, 116; Achæan, 116, 120, 122; Italian, 63, 130, 132.
Le-ga'ti, 209.
Legion, 34, 46–48, 117, 251; reformed by Marius, 163.
Le'o, bishop of Rome, 305, 308; the Isaurian, 332.
Lep'i-dus, consul in 78 B.C., 176; the triumvir, 197.
Libraries, 201.
Lib'y-a, Lib'y-ans, 100, 103.
Li-cin'i-an-Sex'ti-an Laws, 82–87.
Li-cin'i-us, tribune, 85; emperor, 281.
Lic'tors, 27, 38, 67, 71.
Li-gu'ri-ans, 13, n. 1, 114, 126.
Lil-y-bæ'um, 100.
Li'ris River, 50.
Literature, lack of, in the early re-

public, 91; beginnings, 146; late republican, 199–202; imperial, 215, 239–242, 256–260.
Liv'i-a, 206, 218.
Liv'y, 215.
Lom'bards, 319–321.
Lu'can, 240.
Lu-ca'ni-a, Lu-ca'ni-ans, 49, 53, 55, 60.
Lu'ci-an, 260.
Lu'ci-us Cæ'sar, grandson of Augustus, 217.
Lu-cre'ti-a, 22, 37.
Lu-cre'ti-us, 201.
Lu-cul'lus, 179.
Lu'cu-mo, 29.
Ly'ons, Lug-du'num, 226, 264.

Mac-e-do'ni-a, 65; wars with Rome, 111, 116–118, 120–122; a province, 123.
Ma-cri'nus, 270.
Mæ-ce'nas, 215.
Mæ'li-us, Spu'ri-us, 82.
Mag'na Græ'ci-a, 11–13; falls under Roman rule, 61.
Mag-ne'si-a, battle of, 119.
Ma'go, brother of Hannibal, 108.
Ma-har'bal, 111.
Mam'er-tines, 98.
Ma-mil'i-us, 39.
Ma-nil'i-us, 179.
Man'li-us, Mar'cus, 85.
Mar-cel'lus, a general, 112, 113; a nephew of Augustus, 216.
Mar'ci-a, 268.
Mar-co-man'ni, 255, 262.
Ma'ri-us, Ga'i-us, 160–165, 168; his son of same name, 171.
Market-place, see Forum.
Marriage, 22, 336.
Mars, 3, 18, 28; the Avenger, 212.
Mar'si-ans, 4.
Mar-tel', Charles, 325, 327.
Mar'ti-al, 242.
Mas-i-nis'sa, 113, 123, 161.
Max-im'i-an, 278.
Max'i-mus, emperor, 305; Quintus Fabius, 109, 135; Valerius, 240.
Mayor of the Palace, 325.
Mec'ca, 325.
Me-di'na, 325.
Mercenaries of Carthage, 97, 103.
Mer-o-vin'gi-ans, 324.
Mes-sa'na, 98.
Mes-sa'pi-ans, 15.
Me-tau'rus River, battle of the, 114.
Me-tel'lus, Cæ-cil'i-us, (1) victor at Panormus, 100; (2) who made Macedonia a province, 123; (3) who fought against Jugurtha, 161.
Mi-lan', Edict of, 282; capital of the West, 284.
Military system, primitive, 33; of Servius, 33–35; of Camillus, 45–48; reformed by Marius, 162; by Hadrian, 251; roads, 57, 59, 63, 64, 90; military tribunes with consular power, 80; from plutocracy to militarism, 151–174; military power in conflict with the republic, 175–203.
Mi-ner'va, 28.
Mi-nu'ci-an Bridge, 212.
Mi-nu'ci-us, 41.
Mith-ri-da'tes, 167, 169, 179.
Mœ'si-a, 206, 298.
Mo-ham'med, 325.
Mo-ham'me-dans, Moslems, 325–327, 332.
Mo-los'si-ans, 53.
Mon'arch-y, early, 17–37; of Cæsar, 194; from dyarchy to, 225–242; limited, 243–266; growth of absolute, 267–288.
Morals, early, 22; in the best period, 92; decline, 149; under the empire, 214, 230, 338, 347; improved, 211, 235, 337.
Mul'vi-an Bridge, 212.
Mum'mi-us, 123.
Mun'da, battle of, 189.
Mu-ni-cip'i-a, 48, 63, 90, 167, 194, 248, 286.
Mu'ti-na, 196.
My'læ, battle of, 99.
Myth of Æneas, 17; of Romulus, 18–20; of the Sabine women, 19; of Ancus Martius and Tullus Hostilius, 20; of Numa, 27; of the Tarquins and Servius Tullius, 29–

31; of the battle of Lake Regillus, 38; of Cincinnatus, 41; of the Gauls and the senators, 43.

Næ'vi-us, 146.
Na'ples, 55, 74; Bay of, 49, 221.
Nar-bo-nen'sis, 184.
Nar'ses, 319.
Na-si'ca, Scip'i-o, 154.
Navy, Etruscan, 40; Roman, 57, 100, 102; Carthaginian, 97; naval allies, 55, 63.
Ne'pos, Cor-ne'li-us, 200.
Ne'ro, emperor, 227–231; Gaius Claudius, 114.
Ner'va, 243.
Ner'vi-i, 185.
Neus'tri-a, 325.
New Car'thage, 113.
Ni-cæ'a, council of, 282.
Ni'ger, 269.
Nobles, 20, 24, 35, 37, 42, 46, 59, 66; hold the offices, 69; oppress the commons, 72; alone know the laws, 77; ancestor-worship, 80, 348; new nobility, 86–88; decline of, 138, 161; power broken, 159; restored, 168, 172; relations with Pompey, 187; with Octavianus, 196; under Vespasian, 234; under Diocletian, 280; see Senate.
Nor'i-cum, 206.
Nu'ma, 22, 27.
Nu-man'ti-a, 126.
Nu-mid'i-ans, 115, 161.
Nu'mi-tor, 18.

Oc-ta'vi-a, 197.
Oc-ta'vi-us, colleague of Ti. Gracchus, 153; of Cinna, 168; Octavianus, see Augustus.
Od-o-a'cer, 292, 309.
O-lym-pi-e'um, 252.
O-pim'i-us, 158.
Oratory, in Cato's time, 147; late republican, 201; imperial, 240, 258.
O-res'tes, 292.
Os'ti-a, 20, 227.
Os'tro-goths, 297, 298; in Italy, 312–315.
O'tho, 232.
Outline, example of a, 353–358.
Ov'id, 218, 239.

Pæ-lig'ni-ans, 166.
Painting, 148, 349.
Pal'a-tine Mount *or* Hill, 8, 18, 20, 33; early life on, 21; residence of the emperors, 214.
Pan, 15.
Pan-no'ni-a, 206, 319.
Pa-nor'mus, 101; battle of, 100.
Pan'sa, 196.
Pan-the'on, 212.
Pa-pin'i-an, 269.
Pa-pir'i-us, 45.
Par'thi-an Empire, 180, 205; at war with Rome, 246, 255; overthrown by Persians, 271.
Pa-ter'cu-lus, Vel-lei'us, 240.
Pa-tri'ci-ans, see Nobles.
Patrimony of St. Peter, 321, 328.
Pa'trum Auc-tor'i-tas, 25, 88; see Senate.
Paul, St., 231, 262.
Pau'lus, Lu'ci-us Æ-mil'i-us, see Æmilius.
Pau-sa'ni-as, 260.
Pa'vi-a, 319.
Peasants, 35, 134, 149, 155, 262.
Pe-na'tes, 22.
People, see Commons.
Per'ga-mum, 116.
Per'i-style, 340.
Perpetual Edict, 258.
Per'seus, 120–122.
Per'si-an Gulf, 247; empire, 271–273, 316, 332.
Per'si-us, 240.
Per'ti-nax, 268.
Pestilence in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, 255.
Peter, St., 262.
Pe-tro'ni-us, 241.
Pha'lanx, Servian, 33, 38, 41, 46; Macedonian, 61, 117, 121; imperial, 251.
Phar'na-ces, 189.
Phar-sa'li-a, 240.
Phar-sa'lus, battle of, 189.
Philip V of Macedonia, 111, 116.
Philippics of Cicero, 196.

Phi'lo, Pub-lil'i-us, 55, 56, 88.
Philosophy, 228, 241.
Phœ-ni'ci-ans, 95.
Pi-cen'ti-ans, 4.
Pi-ce'num, 108.
Pic'tor, Fa'bi-us, 146.
Picts, 321.
Pillars of Her'cu-les, 127.
Pip'pin, 327.
Pirates, 177, 178, 305.
Pi-sis'tra-tus, 252.
Plau'tus, 146.
Ple-bei'ans, Commons, Etruscan, 9, 59; Roman, 24, 37, 42, 159; win equality with the patricians, 61–94; secession, 73, 78; organization, 73–75; intermarry with patricians, 80; admitted to office, 80–88; country plebs and city plebs, 75, 89, 163, 164, 165; country plebs become an aristocracy, 90.
Plin'y the Elder, 241; the Younger, 248, 258.
Plo-ti'na, 250.
Plu'tarch, 260.
Plu-toc'ra-cy, growth of, 129–150; nobles are plutocrats, 139; from plutocracy to militarism, 151–174.
Po River, 9, 59; valley of the, 40.
Poetry, early, 146; late republican, 201; under the empire, 215, 240.
Poitiers (pronounced pwä-te-â'), battle of, 326.
Po-lyb'i-us, 122, 147.
Pom-pei'i, destruction of, 237.
Pom'pey, Gnæ'us, early career, 175; and Crassus, 177; against the pirates, 178, commands in the East, 179; returns to Rome, 183; sole consul, 187; conflict with Cæsar, 187–189; death, 189.
Pon'tiffs, 29, 60, 68, 88.
Pon'ti-us, earlier Samnite leader, 55; leader in time of Sulla, 171.
Pon'tus, 116, 179, 205.
Pope, 285; succeeds the emperor, 309; temporal power, 320, 328; and Charlemagne, 331, attitude toward image-breaking, 333.
Por'ta Mu-go'ni-a, Gate of Bellowing, 21.
Por'ta Ro-man'u-la, 21.
Pos-tu'mi-us, victor at Mt. Algidus, 42.
Præ-fec'tus Urb'is, city-warden, 68.
Præ-nes'te, 6, 53, 57, 63, 171.
Præ'tor, 57, 86, 130, 173; under the empire, 211.
Pre'fect, 48, 53, 63; imperial, 205, 252, n. 2.
Pre'fec-ture, 48, 63, 279.
Pre-to'ri-an Guard, 221, 223, 225, 232, 268; prefect, 253, 269.
Priest, see Flamen.
Private life, 22, 335–348.
Pro'con-sul, 55, 130.
Pro-co'pi-us, 316, n. 1.
Proc-u-ra'tor, 205, 209.
Pro-præ'tor, 130, 209.
Province of Sicily, 103; Sardinia, and Corsica, 104; Macedonia, 123; Africa, 126; Spain, 126; Bithynia, 179; Syria, 179; Dacia, 245; Armenia, 247.
Provinces, administration of, 130–133; in time of Gaius Gracchus, 157; under Cæsar, 192; under Augustus, 205, 208–210; under Seneca, 229; under Trajan, 249; under Hadrian, 252; under Diocletian, 279; Romanized, 258.
Ptol'e-my, king of Egypt, 189; astronomer, 260.
Pub'li-cans, 132, 157, 193.
Pyd'na, battle of, 121.
Pyr'rhus, 61.

Quæs'tors, treasurers, 68, 75, 79, 82, 131, 173.
Quin-til'i-an, 235, 241.
Qui-ri'nal Hill, 19, 20, 21, 33.

Rabble of Rome, 159, 163, 164, 165, 221.
Races of Italy, 2–13.
Ra-cil'i-a, 4.
Ræ'ti-a, 206.
Re-gil'lus, Lake, battle of, 38.
Reg'u-lus, 100.
Religion, Etruscan, 9; Greek, 11; Roman, 21, 22, 23, 27–29, 31, 68; foreign, 148; under the empire,

211, 214, 231, 262–265, 281–285; see Christians.
Re'mus, 18.
Republic, founding, 37, 66; first period, 38–94; second period, 95–150; third period, 151–203; end of, 202; republican offices under the empire, 211.
Revolution from republic to empire, 151–203; from limited to absolute monarchy, 267–278.
Rex Sa-cro'rum, 68.
Rhe'a, 18.
Rhe'gi-um, 97.
Rhodes, 116.
Rhone River, 105.
Ric'i-mer, 292.
Ro'land, 330.
Ro-mance' languages, 330, n. 1.
Rome, founded, 7, 18; under kings, 17–37; causes of greatness, 35; head of Latium, 36; becomes a republic, 37, 66; alliance with Latins and Hernicans, 40; sacked by the Gauls, 43; gains control of Italy, 48–65; wars with Carthage, 95–116, 123–126; with Macedonia, 116–118, 120–122; under Cæsar, 189–195; beginning of the imperial government, 204; public works, of Augustus, 211–214; of Claudius, 227; of Vespasian and Titus, 235; of Trajan, 245; of Constantine, 284; great fire in, 230; sacked by the Goths, 300; by the Vandals, 305; place in history, 348–351.
Rom'u-lus, 18, 19, 27; "Augustulus," 292.
Rou-ma'ni-a, 246.
Ru'bi-con River, 62; Cæsar crosses, 188.
Ru-fi'nus, Pub'li-us Cor-ne'li-us, 92.
Ru'ti-lus, Ga'i-us Mar'ci-us, 52.

Sa-bel'li-ans, 2–6, 36, 166.
Sa'bines, 4, 15, 19, 20, 40.
Sacred Colleges, 29.
Sacred Mount, 73, 79.
Sacred Spring, 3.
Sacred Way, Via Sacra, 41, 234, 236.
Sa-gun'tum, 105.
Sa'li-i, 29.
Sal-i-na'tor, Mar'cus Liv'i-us, 114.
Sal'lust, 200.
Sam'nites, 4, 5, 49, 63; character, 50; first war with Rome, 51; second war with Rome, 54–59; third war with Rome, 59–61; nearly exterminated, 171.
Sam'ni-um, 4, 49, 50, 54, 55, 61; see word above.
Sar'a-cens, 302, 325–327, 332.
Sar-din'i-a, 9; and Corsica a province, 104; under Cato, 144.
Sat'urn, 28, 68, 211.
Sat-ur-ni'nus, tribune, 163–165; governor of Germany, 238.
Sax'ons, 311; conquer Britain, 321.
Scæv'o-la, Mu'ci-us, 152.
Science, Roman, 241; Hellenic, 260.
Scip'i-o, Æ-mil-i-a'nus, 124, 127, 154; Gnæus, 113; Publius (father), 107, 113; Publius Scipio Africanus (son), 113, 114–116, 142.
Sculpture, 349.
Se-ja'nus, 221.
Se-leu'ci-dæ, 116; empire of the, 65.
Sem-pro'ni-us, Ti-be'ri-us, 107.
Senate, Sabellian, 3; Roman, 41, 43, 50, 52, 55, 62, 66, 69, 73, 80, 86, 98, 111; *patrum auctoritas*, 25, 88; and the provinces, 130; powers of, 137; opposition to, 140; plays the demagogue, 159, 165; restored by Sulla, 168, 172; under Cæsar, 192; and Octavianus, 199; and the dyarchy, 210; and Tiberius, 220; and Claudius, 227; and Vespasian, 234; and Domitian, 238; era of good feeling, 243; mere city council, 252; and Septimius Severus, 269; and Alexander Severus, 271; affected by the military revolution, 274–278; send the imperial trappings to Constantinople, 293.
Senate-house, 32, 61, 79; Pompey's, 195.
Senators, excluded from commerce, 141; see Nobles and Senate.
Sen'e-ca, 228, 230.
Se-no'nes, 65.
Serfs, Co-lo'ni, 262.

Ser-to'ri-us, 171, 176.
Ser-vil'i-us, 108.
Ser'vi-us Tul'li-us, 33–35, 40.
Ses'ti-us, 76.
Se'ti-a, 48.
Seven Hills, 33, 36.
Se-ve'rus, Sep-tim'i-us, 268–270; Alexander, 271–273.
Sex'tus, 37.
Sib'yl, 12, 31.
Sic'i-ly, 11, 33, 62; a province, 103; revolts to Hannibal, 111; slave wars in, 343.
Si-cin'i-us, 78.
Si-do'ni-us, 306.
Slaves, 60, 134, 341–344; join Spartacus, 177; protected, 226, 230.
Social ranks, 24, 286; life, 344.
Social War, 166.
So'lon, 76.
So'phi-a, St., 317.
Spain, Hamilcar in, 104; conquered by Rome, 113, 115, 126; two provinces in, 126, 130; Sertorius in, 171, 176; Pompey proconsul of, 184; birthplace of Seneca, 229; of Trajan, 245; of Marcus Aurelius, 254; Romanized, 259; settled by Visigoths, 302.
Spar'ta-cus, 177.
Spar'tans, 33, 52; Spartan kings, 66.
Spu'ri-us Cas'si-us, 40, 74.
Stil'i-cho, 299.
Stoics, 228, 239.
Strass'burg, battle of, 290.
Studies in Roman history, 359–366.
Sue-to'ni-us, 258.
Sueves, 302.
Sul'la, Lu'ci-us Cor-ne'li-us, 162, 168–174; proscriptions, 171; character of legislation, 173.
Sul-pi'ci-us, 168.
Su'tri-um, 48.
Sym'ma-chus, 314.
Syr'a-cuse, 40, 77, 97; siege of, 112.
Syr'i-a, 179, 205.

Tac'i-tus, 256.
Ta'ges, 9.
Tan'a-quil, 29.
Ta-ren'tum, 11, 53, 97, 134; war with Rome, 61; revolts to Hannibal, 111, 113.
Tar-quin'i-i, 29.
Tar'quins, 29–37; their public works, 32; Tarquinius Collatinus, 37; Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, 30; Tarquinius Superbus, 31, 38, 39, 72.
Tar-ra-ci'na, 4, 42.
Tau'rus Mount, 119.
Taxes, 64, 73, 81; of provinces, 132; imposed by Cato, 145; under Cæsar, 192; under Vespasian, 235; under Trajan, 249; remitted by Hadrian, 253.
Temple of Vesta and of the Sibyl at Tibur, 7; of the Capitoline Jupiter, 31, 32, 52, 143, 211, 234; of Diana, 36; of Castor and Pollux, 39, 211; of Concordia, 87; of Saturn, 68, 211; of Mars the Avenger, 212; of Jehovah, 234.
Ter'ence, 146.
Ter-en-til'i-us, 76.
Tet'ri-cus, 275.
Teu'to-berg Forest, battle of the, 208.
Thap'sus, battle of, 189.
Theatre, Pompeian, 211; theatres, 347.
The-o-do'ra, 315.
The-od'o-ric, king of the Visigoths, 306; of the Ostrogoths, 312–315.
The-o-do'si-us, 291, 298.
Thes'sa-ly, 116, 189; cavalry of, 61.
Thrace, 116.
Thra'se-a, 229.
Ti'ber River, 4, 7, 18, 20, 22, 36, 41, 49.
Ti-be'ri-us, emperor, 206–208, 217; reign of, 218–222; provinces under, 220.
Ti'bur, 7, 53, 63.
Ti-ci'nus River, battle of the, 107.
Ti'gris River, 247.
Ti-mo'le-on, 97.
Ti'tus, destroys Jerusalem, 233; Arch of, 235; reign of, 236.
Ti'tus Ta'tius, 19.
Tou-louse', 302.
Tra'jan, 244–250; conquers Dacia, 245; war in the East, 246; administration, 247–249.

Trans-al'pine Gaul, 162; conquered, 184–186; Romanized, 259.
Tras'i-mene, Lake, battle of, 109, 133.
Treason, law of, 218, 221, 227.
Treasurers, see Quæstors.
Treasury, 68.
Treaty with the Latins, 36, 40, 53; with Alexander and the Gauls, 53; with the Samnites, 52, 59, 60; of the Caudine Pass, 55; with Tarentum, 61; with Egypt, 65, 116; with Carthage, 96, 103, 115; with Hiero, 98; between Philip V and Hannibal, 111; with Ætolia and Athens, 116; with Macedonia, 118; with Antiochus III, 119; with Spanish tribes, 126; with Mithridates, 170; with the Dacians, 238.
Treb'i-a River, battle of the, 107.
Tribes, three primitive, 24; later local, 34, 53, 57, 59, 73, 129; landless enrolled in the, 90; of the hills, 40.
Tri-bo'ni-an, 318.
Tribunes, military, 51, 52; military with consular power, 80, 86; of the plebs, 73, 75, 84, 85; increased power of, 79; usually nobles, 89; restricted by Sulla, 172; restored, 177; under the empire, 211.
Tri-clin'i-um, 340.
Triumph, 41.
Tri-um'vi-rate, First, 183–189; Second, 196–199.
Tro'jans, 17.
Troy, 17, 43.
Tul'li-a, 31.
Tul'lus Hos-til'i-us, 20.
Tu-ra'ni-ans, 297.
Turks, 284.
Tus'cu-lum, 38, 39, 40, 48.
Tyr-rhe'ni-an Sea, 8, 9.

Ul'fi-las, 297.
Ul'pi-an, 270, 271.
Um'bri-a, 4, 6, 59, 60, 64.
U'ti-ca, 124.

Va'lens, 291, 297.
Val-en-tin'i-an I, 290; III, 292.
Va-le'ri-an-Ho-ra'ti-an Laws, 79.
Va-le'ri-an, emperor, 274.
Va-le'ri-us, consul in 449 B.C., 79; Marcus Valerius Corvus, 52.
Van'dals, 302–306, 315.
Va'ri-an Law, 166.
Var'ro, leader of the plebs, 110, 141; Marcus Terentius, a scholar, 201.
Va'rus, 208.
Vei'i, 42, 43, 45, 47.
Ven'e-ti, 185.
Ven'ice, 308.
Ve'nus, 17, 28, 92.
Ve-nu'si-a, 61, 110.
Ver-cel'læ, battle of, 162.
Ver'gil, 215.
Ve'rus, Lu'ci-us, 254.
Ves-pa'si-an, 232–235.
Ves'ta, 22, 29, 39.
Ves'tal Virgin, 18, 29, 43, 68.
Ve-su'vi-us, 221, 237.
Veto, 66, 79, 89, 153.
Vi'a Sa'cra, Sacred Way, 41, 234, 236.
Vice-ge'rent, 279.
Vim'i-nal Hill, 33.
Vin-de-li'ci-a, 207.
Vir-gin'i-a, 78.
Vis'i-goths, 297–302; sack Rome, 300.
Vi-tel'li-us, 232.
Vo-le'ro, Pub-lil'i-us, 75.
Vol'sci-ans, 40, 42, 48.
Vul'can, 28.

Wall of Servius, 33; of Hadrian, 251; of Aurelian, 274.
War with the Æquians and Volscians, 40–42; with Veii, 42; First Samnite, 51; Latin, 53; Second Samnite, 54–59; Third Samnite, 59–61; with Tarentum, 61; First Punic, 98–103; Mercenary, 103; Second Punic, 105–115; First Macedonian, 111, 116; Second Macedonian, 116–118; Asiatic, 118–120; Third Macedonian, 120–122; Third Punic, 123–126; Ligurian, Gallic, and Spanish wars, 126; Jugurthine War, 161; war with the Cimbri and Teutons, 162; Social

War, 166; war with Mithridates, 170, 179; between Sulla and the democrats, 171, 175; with Sertorius, 176; with Spartacus, 177; with the Gauls, 184–186; with Parthia, 187, 246, 255; between Cæsar and Pompey, 188; between the triumvirs and the republic, 197; between Antony and Octavianus, 198; with the Jews, 233; with the Dacians, 238, 245; with the Marcomanni, 255; with the Caledonians, 269; with Persia, 272, 316, 332; with the Mohammedans, 326, 332.
Wit'i-gis, 315.
Women, 23, 37, 113, 337; Sabine, 19.

Xan-thip'pus, 100.

Za-leu'cus, 76.
Za'ma, battle of, 114.
Ze-no'bi-a, 274.
Zor-o-as'ter, 272.

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